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THE EAST INDIA TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The foundation of the East India Company was due mainly to the national desire for participation in the Spice Trade of the East. Its importance had been recognised in the sixteenth century, and several attempts had been made to discover the passage to the Indies. The heroic voyages of Chancellor and Frobisher, and the daring exploits of English travellers were not without effect. And the marvellous feats of Hawkins and Drake were entwined in the national spirit that had been generated by half a century of conflict with the hereditary foe. Purchas' pious account of the Elizabethan adventures reproduces the atmosphere of that Homeric warfare with wonderful simplicity; while his naive remarks, abysmal ignorance, crude theories, and wild hypotheses bring out the essential differences between the mediaeval historian, steeped in the prejudices of the age, and a modern historian, constructing his history from data that have been scientifically analysed and logically classified. It was not so much the desire for the propagation of religion, as the necessity for the expansion of commerce, the plantation of colonies, and

the development of the English Navy that caused the mighty conflict with Spain. Commercial considerations were inextricably mixed with political considerations, and the extension of English commerce in the East was regarded as the most important means whereby "treasure" could be obtained.

The importance of money in a national system of finance had been emphasised by a succession of writers, and its significance to national monarchy had received a specific mould from the immense power which the Spanish monarchy exercised through its monopoly of gold and silver mines. The growth of national monarchies, and the consolidation of smaller kingdoms into larger kingdoms modified the original conception of the function of money in the national state. It was never completely identified with wealth; for the treasure which Mun and other English economists sought was not money, but foreign trade.

Domestic economy was replaced by national economy; the circle of commerce was gradually widened; and public finance was recognised to suit the ceaseless changes which international trade underwent during the period. It was an age of heroic experimentation, daring enterprise, and boundless vigour. Old theories were constantly put to the test; ancient practices were invariably cast aside, and a new system of political economy was established,—a system that aimed at increasing the productive powers of the community through the concentration of sovereignty in the monarch, and the consistent pursuit of an aggressive economic policy, having for its objects the economic destruction of rivals, whether actual or potential, and the monopoly of foreign trade.

The functions of the State underwent a radical change, in consequence. The reorganisation of economic life, which the profound changes of the sixteenth

century necessitated, and the development of the theory of sovereignty upon which the growing nationalism of the period laid so much stress, led to a radical modification of the relation of State to Industry. Political aims resolved themselves ultimately into commercial aims; and the colonial, naval and commercial rivalry with Holland became the lever through which the developing self consciousness, and inarticulate longings of the nation, were expressed. It was carried on by nations that had been engaged in a herculean struggle; and was championed by adventurers that had weathered the fury of Spanish storms, and destroyed the economic barriers which the narrow conceptions of the time had fenced round the free intercourse, and commercial enterprise, of peoples. The exploitation of the spice trade by the Dutch and the English East India Companies rendered reconciliation of their essential aims totally impossible, and we can trace the germs of the conflict that raged throughout the seventeenth century in the earliest accounts of English mariners. The diaries of merchants, the accounts of travellers, and the logs of many a ship reveal the existence of a hostile spirit, and exhibit all the characteristic features of the commercial wars of the century. There are frequent disputes, constant complaints of high-handedness of the Dutch, and numerous appeals to the Government.

The Anglo-Dutch revalry in the East went through different phases, and was expressed in various forms during the period. The Dutch East India Company embodied in a concrete form the economic theories which the national states championed, and to which the economists of the period lent overwhelming support. It was a national institution, wielding immense powers, and commanding all the resources of the state. All the chambers of the United Provinces

were represented on the Directorate of the company, and the inhabitants of the Provinces had the right, during a stated time, to take shares therein. The company was organised on a national basis. It made treaties with the natives of the East India Islands, and levied troops; while its generals had command over all the forces of the company by land and sea, and exercised undisputed control over its finances. It was a thoroughly national institution, wielding immense powers, and exercising all the rights of sovereignty over a large tract of land.

The close connection between the Dutch East India Company and the Executive differentiates the former completely from the English East India Company. The Charters conferred by Elizabeth and James I granted the latter the benefits of the "whole, entire and only trade and traffic to the East Indie's for ever." Subsequent charters extended its powers, and conferred valuable privileges. The Company could export a stated amount of bullion; it could arrest Interlopers, punish criminals, and exact obedience from its servants. It could not, however, rely upon the support of the crown. It was a purely private institution, and its quarrels with the Dutch were regarded as private quarrels.

It did not receive consistent support either from James I. or Charles I. James pursued the peaceful policy upon which he prided, and though it cannot be denied that a reglement of trade between the two Companies would have solved many of those points which intensified their quarrels and rendered peaceful intercourse possible, there is evidence to believe that his meddlesome interferences, constant changes of policy, and ignorance of the real causes of conflict that led to the expulsion of the Company's factors from many an island in the South Seas, were injurious

to English trade. His negotiations with the Dutch in 1613, 1615, 1619, and 1621, are marked by the vacillation and timidity that were his characteristic contributions to English foreign policy; while his indulgence in controversies, his ready sympathy with the claims of the Dutch, and his fitful support of the Company's claim disqualified him from pursuing consistently a policy that was clear in its aims, and definite in its methods. He could not reconcile the divergent aims of the two Companies.

Samuel Rawson Gardiner's defence of his foreign policy is based upon an incomplete knowledge of the real causes of the conflict. He has rightly pointed out the essential weakness of the negotiations carried on by the two nations. Their conception of sovereignty is undeniably vague, its outlines are blurred, and we seem to be transported to a region where arguing in a circle appears the safest, because it is the most convenient form of disputation. However, the study of the Company's negotiations shows that there was one fundamental point to which the Directors attached the greatest importance. In nearly all their petitions they demanded complete freedom of trade, and insisted on the necessity of securing that right from the Dutch. Grotius' "*Mare Liberum*," was directed primarily against the Portugese, but its arguments were applicable to the English Company, and the Directors were not slow to notice the weak spots in their adversary's armour, and to prove the necessity for freedom of trade from the work of the most distinguished Dutchman of the day. They appealed to the *Jus Gentium* on which Grotius had relied, and showed that the Dutch did not exercise sovereignty in the sense in which Grotius had applied the term. Consequently, they could not prohibit the English factors from trading with the South Sea Islanders.

While the freedom of trade was championed by the English East India Company throughout the seventeenth century, the freedom of the seas was defended by the Dutch with passionate vigour. The Company's records, the voyages of Hakluyt, and the correspondence of foreign ambassadors testify alike to the intensity of the conflict and the serious results of the rivalry. The English Commissioners based their claims mainly upon the Law of the Nations, as the Dutch monopoly of Spices in the East India Islands negatived the Freedom of Trade which Grotius had advocated. It violated the principles of the Law of the Nations, and subjected them to humiliating conditions in the East. The Dutch reply was ingenious. The Law of Nations, to which appeal had been made, was thrown aside, and municipal laws and institutions took its place. Their rejection of the freedom of trade, and their identification of the Dutch Company with the State, were salient features of their commercial policy in the East. From 1611 to 1660, the East India merchants insisted on the necessity of state support, and the identification of the interests of the Company with those of the Crown. Their petitions to the Crown, the despatches of their factors in the East, and the minutes of their meetings during the period, refer constantly to the encroachments of the Dutch and the losses they had sustained from the actions of the Dutch commanders. The Treaty of 1619 was a complete failure. It was to remain in force for 20 years; but in less than 20 months, both the parties were compelled to open fresh negotiations.

The accession of Charles I. did not improve the prospects of the Company. His active support of Courten's Association, and his inability to pursue a consistent and vigorous line of policy proved disastrous.

The trade declined, the Company was involved in debt, and was prevented from dissolving itself only from fear of the king.

The vigorous foreign policy of the Protector infused a new energy into the administration of the East India Company. There is no evidence to show that Cromwell took a personal interest in the East India Trade. A manuscript in the British Museum, entitled, "Remonstrance to Cromwell," advised the Protector to acquire a commodious harbour in India, to form an alliance with the Great Mogul, and to nationalise the East India Trade. There is evidence to believe that some action was taken, and that the policy which a number of merchants were advocating at the time, was seriously discussed by Cromwell. But the Company's position had changed for the worse, and they resolved to appoint, on February, 1657, a sale of all their properties and rights, in the Indies. The threat had the desired effect. A very liberal charter was conferred on the Company, and the subscriptions to its stock exceeded three quarters of a million pounds.

The theories of the prominent economists of the first half of the Seventeenth century were moulded by the intense rivalry with the Dutch. Thomas Mun's advocacy of repressive measures against the Dutch, and the theories which he propounded, and which crystallised into what is called the "Mercantile system," were due mainly to his perception of the necessity of State action, and the far-reaching consequences of the monopoly of the Dutch. A series of pamphlets in the British Museum exhibit the same tendency. They insist on the necessity of State action, demand repressive laws against the importation of foreign goods, and advocate various reforms. The transition to mercantilism was easy.

From 1600 to 1620 the growth of the East India Trade was constant. The Company's ships visited the ports of China, Japan, India, Persia, Siam. The East India Islands, however, saw the establishment of the first English factories. The Company's ships carried on a prosperous trade not only with Europe, but also with Asia. They imported calicoes, indigo, cotton, raw-silk, Spices, saltpetre, into England; and exported wool, lead, tin, coral, iron, and bullion to the East.

Of the chief products of Asia, calico, raw-silk, saltpetre and spices were by far the most important. The importance of the Spices had been recognised in the sixteenth century, and more than 20,000 persons were employed by the English merchants at Antwerp on that industry. The Directors encouraged their factors to extend the sale of woollen goods and adopted various measures whereby a market could be developed. But their price was too high, and a factor remarked that the "Indians could make three suits of clothes for the price of one yard of English cloth. Only the Emperors and his courtiers could afford it." The Dutch cloth proved a serious rival, and the competition was severely felt. Throughout the seventeenth century we find the Company's Directors urging their factors to increase its sale, and develop a market for English goods. There is reason to believe that a large amount remained unsold, and the Company were obliged to dispose of it as best they could.

During the first twenty years of its history, the Company had exported more than half a million pounds in bullion, while during the years 1620-1624 more than a quarter of million pounds had been exported to the East. Its shipping increased; while the Customs duties increased from £1,200 in 1603 to £50,000 in 1624.

The development of the East India Trade during

the years 1600 and 1620 had been rendered possible by the fact that the Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the East had not reached a serious stage. After 1620, however, the disputes with the Dutch developed into a war between the two nations and culminated in the Massacre of Amboyna.

From 1620 to 1657 the trade remained in a precarious state. The Company was heavily involved in debt; it received little support from the Crown, while the activities of Courten's Association, and the action of the Interlopers involved it in serious quarrels with the Indian princes.

The development of mercantilism during the first half of the seventeenth century was due partly to the intensity of the conflict which raged in the Indian Ocean. It reappeared in Greenland, and developed into a struggle for commercial supremacy under Cromwell. Of the three important causes of the First Dutch War, the East India Trade was probably the most important. The comparative neglect of the Company's interests by James I, the vacillating policy of Charles I, and the decline of the East India Company during the Civil War forced upon the East India merchants the conviction that the trade could be developed only by a vigorous exercise of the powers of the State, and that it was the sole means whereby English commerce, English trade, and the naval supremacy of England could be maintained. The writings of the economists laid great stress upon this feature of International Trade. Politics and Economics are inseparable, for foreign trade is impossible without security, and no state can neglect the primary duty of safeguarding its people's rights, and exacting reprisals for the wrongs done to its subjects. Adam Smith's denunciation of Mercantilism loses its force, when examined in the light of our data. The economists recognised the need

of peace for the development of foreign trade, and showed that good Government, beneficial laws, establishment of Merchants' courts, reduction of Interest, and the institution of a State Bank would conduce to the prosperity of a country. But they were alive to the dangers of monopoly, and emphasized the importance of retaliatory measures, tariff walls, and commercial wars to the English statesmen of the period. It cannot be denied that the measures suggested by Mun, Robinson, Wyld, and others were harsh, and it must be acknowledged that they would, if carried on to their logical conclusion, have destroyed stability, uprooted the foundations of trade, and rendered all intercourse impossible.

It is difficult, however, to ignore the treatment which the Dutch meted out to the defenceless factors in the East. English mercantilists advocated a policy, of which the Dutch were the real originators, and their support of militarism was based on substantial foundations. Oliver Cromwell was not in favour of the Dutch War, and his puritan sympathies, the breadth of his outlook, and the catholicity of his interests, would have proved serious obstacles to the realisation of the desires of the merchants, if the high handed dealings of the Dutch and their inhuman monopoly had not provided an excellent opportunity to their rivals. Cromwell's claim to be the founder of the Mercantile System rests not upon his approval of the policy of the economists, but upon his employment of the total resources of a vigorous state against the Dutch in the interests of commerce and navigation.

The reign of Charles II. forms a landmark in the history of the East India Trade. The East India merchants had insisted on the necessity of the support of the Company on the part of the Crown, while a number of economists had enunciated the principles according to which the trade was to be conducted.

Under Charles II. Commerce and Industry became the chief ends of foreign policy. His personal interest in the English trade, and the enlightenment of mind and freedom from insular prejudices which were the outcome of his travels in France and the Netherlands, eminently qualified him for the performance of those duties upon which the East India merchants had laid so much stress. "Upon the first arrival in England," says Clarendon, "he manifested a very great desire to improve the general traffic and trade of the Nation, and upon all occasions conferred with the most active merchants upon it, and offered all that he could contribute to the advancement thereof." The Committee of Trade, and Council of Plantations expressed in a concrete form the leading ideas of the merchants. Freedom of trade, reparation for the wrongs done to the Company's trade in the East, the demarcation of the spheres of influence of the two Companies, the imposition of duties on foreign goods, exportation of bullion to the East Indies, the Portuguese claims to the revenues of Bombay, and the disputes of the English factors with the Dutch at Bantam, and other places,—these were some of the subjects which the Council and Committee of Trade and Plantations discussed, and upon which they advised Charles. The real character of these institutions were first pointed out by the late Dr. Cunningham. Prof. Andrews, Dr. Kaye and Mr. Beer have thrown a flood of light on the constitution, the procedure, and the policy of the Council. It is, however, in their dealings with the East India Company that their policy is truly displayed. In no other sphere is its influence so widely felt. They became the organ through which the grievances of the English merchants were voiced. They conducted elaborate investigations, moulded the foreign policy of Charles, and supported the

demands of English merchants for an energetic assertion of their privileges by force of arms. Foreign policy came to be regarded as the most important means whereby the commercial privileges of Englishmen could be secured, while the economic policy of the Crown aimed at the realisation of the desires of captains of Industry. The organisers of Charter Companies in America, and the English traders in Russia, Turkey, Persia, and the East Indies, looked up to the Council for support, ventilated their grievances, and furnished it with data upon which it based its policy.

Every aspect of the East India Trade is thoroughly discussed, and all the petitions of the Company are given careful attention. If the East India Company's goods are prohibited in Spain, a petition to the Lords of Trade and Plantations results in a despatch to the English Ambassador, requesting him to make a representation to the Spanish King. The Council now acts as the spokesman of the East India Company, and urges its claims with vigour. The influence of the Council on the foreign policy of Charles II. is exhibited in a series of Reports to the King. The quarrels with the Dutch, the questions of sovereignty and freedom of trade, and the damages sustained by the Company in the East, are detailed in a series of volumes in the Public Record Office. They show that the foreign policy of Charles II. was influenced by the Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the East; and that the second Dutch War was due partly to the disputes of the two Companies.

The Company's petitions to the Council deal with the various phases through which that rivalry passed. The imprisonment of its factors, the treatment meted out to the commanders of its ships, and the monopoly of the Dutch are the constant

theme of its petitions. A comparison of these records with Downing's despatches shows clearly that the East India Trade played a prominent part in the negotiations with Holland, and that the policy which he pursued had been dictated by the Council and Committee of Trade and Plantations..

The Government adopts a new role in its dealings with foreign powers. It acts now as the spokesman of the East India Company; it urges upon the foreign powers the necessity of redressing its grievances; and, finally, it threatens reprisals if its demands are not satisfied. It is this intimate connection between the Crown and the East India Company that helps to explain the phenomenal growth of the East India Trade. Its cause is regarded as the cause of the State, and its protests, negotiations, and demands are backed by the Council and Committee.

Their numerous reports on the petitions of the East India Company and their enunciation of a definite economic policy, mirror the changes through which the foreign policy of the State passed. "By common right," asserted the Council, "while the two nations are at peace, the Dutch ought not, in any part of the world, to impede the King's subjects' freedom of trading with any Natives that will entertain them, much less in places where the English have fixed residences and factories in their own houses."

The Council insisted on the right of the Company to send goods and ships to any port within its Charter, and declared that it ought not to be disturbed or molested from buying and carrying any Indian commodity from any Indian, upon pretence of any contract that the Dutch may have made with the natives of the whole of the commodity.

The "Common right" which the Council claimed is shrouded in mystery, and we are not certain whether

Rousseau's Law of Nature, or Grotius Jus Gentium will be applicable. But though their language is vague, their meaning is perfectly clear. What Grotius had claimed for the Dutch, the Council now claim for the English Company.

The study of the documents in the Public Record Office forces one to the conclusion that the Second Dutch War was the logical outcome of the policy that had been advocated by the English East India Company for over half a century; that the Dutch were resolved to maintain their monopoly in the East; and that Downing merely carried out a policy which the Lords had indicated and with which the East India merchants were in complete sympathy. The Journals of the House of Commons, the minutes of the Company's meetings, and a number of pamphlets in the British Museum testify to the intensity of the rivalry.

The development of the Company's trade in the East, and the growth of administrative methods which the wide extension of its powers rendered absolutely essential, have been regarded hitherto as the signs of a complete change in the policy of the Company.

Sir William Hunter credited Sir Joshua Childe with the design of founding an empire in India; while other writers regard the Company's war with Aurangzeb as a first step towards the establishment of the British Empire in India. There is evidence to believe that the "political dominion" to which Childe referred was used in a loose way; and that the security of their commerce was the sole object of their war with the Mogul. The study of his despatches in the Manuscript Letter Books in the India Office, his letters in the Bodleian Library, and his pamphlets in the British Museum mirror before us the leading principles of his administration. He had stated in 1694 that the "Dutch never prosper in their plantations. What they do in the

East Indies being only by war, trade, and building of fortified towns and castles, upon the sea-coasts to secure the commerce of the places." His despatches in the Manuscript Letter Books 7-9., insist on the necessity of raising ample revenue, and ruling the Company's subjects kindly and justly. "This general liberty," runs a famous despatch, "and frank encouragement to all our inhabitants indifferently will make your place great and famous in a short time." The piety which breathes through every page dealing with the treatment of the Company's subjects is in strong contrast with the shrewd common-sense and the frequent complaints which the Letter Books reveal. His ideal was a benevolent despotism, dealing tenderly with the prejudices of the inhabitants, meting out prompt justice, and enacting wise laws. He wanted to make the Company's chief factories the "mart of the Nations", so that they may prosper exceedingly; "this being the means by which God Almighty promised to make Jerusalem great." The lofty ideals, and the intense passion for toleration which his despatches reveal, were not alien to Childe's nature. He had advocated them both in his "New Discourse of Trade," and in his essay on the "East India Trade." It is the systematisation of these disconnected maxims into leading principles, organically connected with the minutest details of his administration, and their application to the complex problems of Indian administration that mark him out as the first great Englishman who pointed out the path that was trodden by Elphinstone and Munro, by Malcolm and Henry Lawrence.

The effects of the policy of Charles II., and the administrative reforms of Sir Joshua Childe, are visible in the Company's records. We can trace the progress of the East India Trade with facility as the despatches of the Directors to their Agents in the East contain

lists of all the goods required in England; while a number of pamphlets, broadsides etc, supply us with accurate figures.

The calico goods seem to have been the most popular of all Indian goods during the period. The company encouraged its manufacture in Bombay and supplied its agents with mills, patterns and, most important of all, artisans from England. "The making of calicoes," said the Directors, "is that in which the people of India are most apt, and a commodity which is most vendible in Europe." A number of their letters give minute directions for the making of calico goods, point out the causes of their popularity in England, and insist on the necessity of exporting a larger amount of Indian goods. The debates in the House of Commons in 1677, and 1680, throw considerable light on the progress of Indian goods in England. Colonel Birch stated in the House of Commons in 1677, that "one commodity more ruins us, and that is calico, which destroys more the use of wool than all things besides. You encourage thereby trade with the heathens, who work for a penny a day, and destroy Christendom; and the French, who scarcely eat flesh four times a year, and wear linen breeches, and wooden shoes, destroy by underselling you." Silk goods were no less popular in England. "You should" say the Directors, in one of their despatches, "always be buying and selling whatever quantities you can of raw-silk."

The demand for silk was not constant, and no increase is perceptible during the years 1670-7. During the first seventy-five years of its existence, the Company imported a comparatively small amount of raw silk, and it was not till 1680 that the organisation of Indian silk industry was taken in hand, and a vigorous policy of development initiated in Bengal. Of

the principal exports to the East, bullion was by far the most important, commodity during the period.

The East India Trade made unusual progress after 1685. The imports from India were greatly increased, while the amount of bullion exported to the East showed no signs of decline. The two were intimately connected, as the company could hardly import an ever increasing number of Indian manufactures without increasing the export of bullion to the East. The company's attempts to develop the sale of English cloth in Persia and India, and its efforts to make the returns of English cloth in Indian silk goods and calicoes were not crowned with success. A number of despatches refer to the "misfortune of that great mismanagement." An increase in the sale of English manufactures might have prevented the agitation against the East India Trade from assuming dangerous proportions. Even the exportation of bullion might have been allowed if the company had confined itself to the importation of raw material from the East. During the years 1685—1702, however, the Indian manufactures usurped the places of the spices, and their competition with English goods was severely felt. The manufacture of silk goods and calicoes in India had been sedulously fostered by the Company's agents. It utilised Indian talent for the purpose of developing industries for which the Indian workmen were specially fitted. The Company invited workmen from all parts of India, and encouraged them in its industry by every means in its power. Its agents advanced money on good security, supervised their work, and guaranteed complete religious freedom to all. The Company's despatches to its factors in India detail the quantity and quality of goods required in England; they criticise the investments made by their agents; and they enable us to state the volume of

that trade with a preciseness that is unattainable in the case of any other industry. The effects of the increased importation of Indian goods were seriously felt. The Indian silk goods proved formidable rivals, and Canterbury, Gloucester, and other towns were affected. Canterbury seems to have been the greatest sufferer. A writer complained that "half the working men of the town are now running up and down, and leaving their families to the parish." A number of weavers went to Ireland, and set up trade there; while others changed their employment and made cloth, stuffs, and serge. The effects on woollen goods were more serious still. That industry was generally regarded as the staple industry of England. As Davenant remarked at the time, "As bread is called the staff of life, so wool is truly the principal nourishment of the body politick." The English weavers pointed out that the East Indian goods had thrown 2,50,000 people out of employment. They showed that the Indian goods competed not only in England, but also in Germany. "Germany," complained a writer "used to exchange her linen with English goods. Now the Indian goods have driven the English out of the market; and England is obliged to export her bullion to Germany, to buy linen from there."

The weavers justified their opposition mainly on national grounds. It was the loss to the productive powers of the nation in general, rather than the injury inflicted on a score of private persons that was frequently emphasized. Their aim was the development of national resources for the achievement of commercial supremacy. In their opinion, freedom of Trade would lead to the oppression of the poor by the strong. As one writer put it, "If by free Trade be meant absolute freedom of Trade, without limitation or qualification at all, but every man to do what he

liked, then we may as well transport corn, wool and earth, of the nation as any other commodity, and the rich may engross the corn into their own hands and no man may say why you do so."

The leading idea that runs through all their pamphlets is the development of national resources through the acquisition of power. To them power was of more importance than plenty, and labour of greater importance than money. "The original of our riches," says Pollexfen, "is from the labour and industry of our people in getting out of the bowels of the earth, from their lands and seas, what may be improved, and what made useful for carrying on our foreign trade, upon which also depends the increase of our seamen and navigation, in which our strength consists." They conceived the state as the most important instrument through which all the abuses that had crept in, could be removed. Though the majority of the Company's opponents identified the interest of the nation with the maintenance of their own privileges, it cannot be denied that their conception of the economic functions of the State was clearer than the Free Trade principles upon which the Company relied, and to which the most distinguished of its advocates constantly appealed. The Company's advocacy of freedom of Trade was not accidental, but logical. The spectre of Dutch competition, the constant wars in which it was engaged, and the perpetual conflict which many an island in the South Seas witnessed, had proved a serious hindrance to the growth of its commerce in the East. It could not exist without the organised resources and unlimited support of the Crown. Hence its desire for State action; hence, too, its insistence on the prosecution of a vigorous economic policy. This was attained under Charles II., and after the achievement of commercial supremacy, the scene shifted, and the Company defended free Trade, on national grounds. It is hardly

necessary to point out that this was the only ground upon which it could base its claim. Mercantilism was totally opposed to the exportation of English treasure to the East, and the importation of Indian commodities.

We possess sufficient data to enable us to calculate the volume of trade with approximation to truth.

The average amount of bullion exported by the Company to the East may roughly be estimated at £800,000 per annum. There is evidence to believe that the Company exported not less than a million pounds per annum, during the years 1698-1700. It was asserted that there had been exported to the East Indies, in two years, almost one third part as much silver as had been coined in England, since the recoinage of English money under William III.

The exportation of bullion would have been allowed if the Company had contented itself with importing raw-materials from India to England. There is evidence to believe that the commercial position of the two countries was reversed, and Indian manufactures attained considerable popularity in England. The demand for Indian silk goods and calicoes in England, their popularity in the plantations, and the increase in their sale in Germany led to the organisation of a powerful opposition to the Company. The English merchants, the personal enemies of Sir Joshua Childe, the Interlopers, the champions of Mercantilism, and the leaders of the Whig party were united by the bond of common enmity to an institution that had trampled on their rights, that had meted out merciless treatment to the islanders of St. Helena, and flooded the English markets with Indian goods. The advocates of the East India Company supported its claim upon grounds that have become familiar to us since the days of Adam Smith. They showed that England reaped a rich harvest from the sale and use of cheap Indian goods. They admitted

that Indian goods competed with the woollen, silk, and linen manufactures of England, nor did they deny that they had taken the place of a large amount of English woollen goods in Germany. But they pointed out that England would ultimately derive considerable benefit from the increased sale of Indian goods. "She could," suggested Davenaut, "concentrate upon the manufacture of those goods for which she is naturally fitted." North pointed out the absurdity of the idea that money should be hoarded. "Let not the care of money torment us so much. For a people that are rich cannot want it, and if they make none, they will be supplied with the coin of other nations." Davenaut, Childe, North, and Nicholas Barbon carried the theories of Mun to their logical conclusion. They showed that England derived considerable benefits from the East India Trade; that "if Trade is stopped or dammed up in one part, it will overflow in another. The freedom of Trade would make all manner of commodities cheap; the cheapness of commodities empowers our people to work cheaper; the cheapness of work encourages foreign trade, foreign trade brings wealth, and that raises the price of land"

The merit of Davenaut lay in his organisation of these disparate and disconnected theories into a closely reasoned plea for freedom of Trade. He did not advocate it either because he recognised its importance in the abstract, or because he was a fervid enthusiast for liberty. He was quite willing to see the Dutch manufactures prohibited, nor was he averse to the prohibition of French manufactures. His advocacy of freedom of Trade had its origin in his perception of the impossibility of carrying on the East India Trade without bullion. Sir Dudley North elaborated his arguments, and built up the most effective of all the pleas for freedom of Trade. He pointed out the loss

which England had sustained through neglect of her natural resources, showed the advantages of division of Labour with marvellous insight, and defended the freedom of Trade in a series of luminous propositions.

Professor Sir William Ashley and Dr. Cunningham have traced the rise of the free Trade School during the period. There is evidence to believe that the growth of the East India Trade during the period was the most important factor in its development, and the study of a host of pamphlets broadsides, manuscripts, and newspapers makes it abundantly clear that abstract theories of free Trade would have been barren, if the necessities of the East India Company had not focussed the attention of the leading economists upon the essential elements of the theory.

I may add, in conclusion, that Lists' writings show clear evidences of the influence of English mercantilists of the period. There is a striking similarity in their arguments; and we are constantly struck by the logical force and acumen which the treatises of these shrewd business men reveal.

SOURCES FOR THE
HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA
IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM AND BODLEIAN LIBRARIES

The policy of the East India Company was influenced in so many directions, that a true understanding of some of the most important elements of its influence in England is impossible without a thorough grasp of the causes that influenced the direction, and affected the course, of its history. Its dealings with the States General, its exportation of Indian manufacture, the vigour and pertinacity of the attacks that were made on its privileges, its constant demands for state action, its advocacy of a vigorous economic policy, its negotiations with the Indian rulers, and its enunciation of a policy that aimed at the security of its trade by fortified towns, and that developed ultimately into the principle of territorial sovereignty, produced appreciable effects on the history of England.

The sources for the history of British India in the Seventeenth century must therefore be sought in different archives. The principal English archives must be searched for a solution of many of the difficult problems of the seventeenth century; while some of the less important libraries—such as the Libraries of the Inns of Court, the Guildhall Library, South Kensington—may be consulted with profit. The Lincolan's Inn Library contains, for instance, some very interesting pamphlets

and broadsides on the English and Scotch East India Companies; while in the Guildhall Library some very valuable pamphlets on Thomas Papillon and others may be consulted. Another store-house of valuable information may be mentioned here. The history of the East India Company would be incomplete without the Appendices, and Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Some of the information they supply us is of priceless value; and we should have to grope for ever in the dark without the illuminating material, and valuable information, that some of these Reports contain. Though these subsidiary sources are valuable, they do not enable us to reconstruct the history of British India in the XVIIth century. A few gems may be picked up here, but the chief authorities must always be searched in the great national archives of England. The British Museum Library contains a rich collection of pamphlets, broadsides and manuscripts; while the documents in the Bodleian Library are of primary importance for the history of the New East India Company. The Public Record Office contains a complete collection of the negotiations of the Company with the Dutch, the minutes of the Committee and Council for Trade and Plantations, the despatches of English Ambassadors, and the petitions of the East India Company. This is by no means an exhaustive account of the wealth of materials that can be gleaned there.

Some of these manuscripts calendared in the Appendices to the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts supply us with first hand information on many important points. The calendar of the 'Marquis of Ormand's Manuscripts,' for instance, contains useful information on the East India Company while the Mss. of Skrine and Earl Cowper throw new light on some of the problems of Anglo-Indian History. The most important of all the

documents is the Manuscripts of the House of Lords calendered in the Fourteenth Report. The Appendix to the XIVth Report supplies us with an impartial account of the agitation which the Company's opponents carried on. Report XIIIth of the Commissioners of Historical Manuscripts contains a few interesting items, but if our object is accurate statistics, if we aim at the delineation of a policy that was consistently followed by the Company during the period, we must have recourse to yet another volume in the same series. Volume I of the manuscripts of House of Lords, (New Series) furnishes us with reliable data, and supplies us with invaluable statistics of the East India Trade. The student should consult pages 60-68, and compare the figures contained therein with the pamphlets of Davenant, Childe, Papillon, and Barboon, in the British Museum.

The second volume of the New Series, is also useful, as it contains abstracts of numerous petitions to the House of Lords. Pollexfen's evidence should be compared with his violent diatribe before the Council of Trade, in 1696, while the papers of commissioners of Customs, Hamburgh Company, Royal African Company, Jamaica Merchants, the Leeward Island Papers, and the replies of the East India Company should be studied in conjunction with its Court Minute Books, and the Manuscript Letter Books. The whole volume deserves careful study. Professor Scott has utilised some of the material; and Mr. P. E. Roberts has incorporated some items in his edition of Sir William Hunter's History of British India, Volume II. It is an inexhaustible mine, and a historical scholar can still dig up priceless treasure. We may also glean useful information from other volumes in the same series. The Manuscripts of S. H. Le Fleming throw some light on the conflict of the two companies; that of the Duke of Portland, Volume II,

contains an interesting letter from Nathaniel Harley, of Aleppo fame; Volumes III, IV, V and VI of the manuscripts of Duke of Portland at Welbeck will repay perusal, for they contain valuable extracts from the newsletters of the period. The manuscripts of Lord Montague of Beaulieu contain an interesting note on "diverse reasons of scarcity and plenty." It was written in the reign of James I, and expounded the crude economic theories of the day in their usual form. It should be compared with the works of Mun, Malynes, Sir Dudley Digges, and Misselden. Volume I of the manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleugh, at Montague House, contains a most interesting letter from Sir Thomas Smyth to Winwood. Gardiner has not paid sufficient attention to these negotiations, and his references to the disputes are marred by his ignorance of the data for the study of this period. This is a most interesting note, and the student should study it in connection with the negotiations of 1619, 1668, and 1674. On page 166, will be found a graphic account of the negotiations. It is by far the most interesting record we possess of the dreary proceedings of that conference.

The next great archive is the India Office Record Department. In it are to be seen the minutes of the meetings of the Directors, the correspondence of the company's factors in the East, the Despatches of the Directors, the Charters granted to the East India Company by various rulers, and other sources of valuable information.

The construction of the history of British India in the seventeenth century will involve, therefore, a constant comparison of records in the various archives. Comparison by itself is not always sufficient, for interpretation itself is often difficult. Thus the vague way in which the word sovereignty was employed

by the Directors of the company, in their despatches to their agents in India, led some historians to believe that the object of the Company's war with Aurangzeb was 'territorial sovereignty', and that the Company desired to found an empire in India, in the seventeenth century. Even a slight knowledge of its resources during the period will convince one that such a task was impossible at the time, and that what the Directors really desired was the security of their trade through the establishment of fortified factories.

The analysis of the documents in the leading archives is the first step. This must be followed by a careful comparison. The last stage will be reached when we organise our scattered material into a coherent and consistent whole. Only then would it be possible to draw valid conclusions, and to apply them to the solution of some of the problems of modern India.

Viewed mainly from this point, every kind of document is of importance, and all types of authorities will, if properly analysed and logically classified, fall into their proper places. Some broadsides will possess as much interest as the minutes of the Company, and the pamphlets and periodicals may be as important as the despatches of ambassadors, or the petitions of the two Companies. It is for this reason that the documents in the British Museum and the Bodleian Libraries are important. They throw light on every phase of the Company's activity. Some of the manuscripts contain valuable reports of negotiations with the Dutch; a number of pamphlets describe the state of the Company's trade in India; while a series of reports detail the volume of its trade, define the position of its factors in the East, and suggest proposals for the reform of some of the existing abuses.

For the first sixty years of the Company's

history, we have to rely mainly upon the writings of the economists. The controversies of Misselden and others bring out the importance of the East India Trade, while the "Defence of Trade", by Sir Dudley Digges, contains a valuable account of the resources of the Company. Some of the reports of its negotiations with the Dutch Commissioners are valuable, as they are free from the defects to which documents of this type are specially liable. Several volumes of Additional Manuscripts, Sloane Manuscripts, and Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum, important, as in them are detailed the negotiations of the Company with the Dutch Commissioners. Thus, volume 133 of Stowe Manuscripts contains articles of treaty with the Dutch in 1623; while the difference between the two companies, and the negotiations with the Dutch Commissioners, are detailed in two more volumes. Other important sources of our information are the Lansdowne Manuscripts, the Additional Manuscripts, and the Cotton Manuscripts. Several volumes in the Lansdowne Manuscripts are important. One contains an interesting "Treatise touching the traffic of the East Indies into Spain," by Lord Burleigh; another deals with the differences between the English and the Dutch East India companies, during the years 1618 1622; while a third contains the minute of the Turkey Merchants' complaints in 1612.

The Additional Manuscripts and the Cotton Manuscripts are also valuable. They fill many a gap in the records of the company, and illuminate many a dark passage in the tortuous course of the Anglo-Dutch negotiations. Though our account of these transactions must be based primarily upon the elaborate reports in the Public Record Office, some of the missing links in the chain are supplied by these

data. Another aspect of this controversy should be mentioned. The Fishery question bulks largely in the reports of the commissioners and for this some of the pamphlets in the British Museum are our primary authorities.

The following manuscripts should be consulted, Harelian manuscripts, 4753, 5101, 6245; Additional Manuscripts, 30,069; 32,518; 192, 155; 13,816; 34,331. Sloane Manuscripts 2902; Additional Manuscripts, 17,018; Egerton manuscript, 1131. Sloane manuscripts, 948, 2902; Stowe Mss. 133; Landsdowne 846; 150; 104,160.

This does not by any means exhaust the list of manuscript sources in the Museum. We can glean useful information on many an interesting information from documents that may seem useless at first sight. To take but one example, there is a unique collection of voyages and travels, and though travellers' tales must be accepted *cum grano salo*, we can select the reliable authorities from a mass of irrelevant material. The growth of Orientalism in the seventeenth century can be traced with facility, as some of the most important works are to be found in the British Museum alone. We have a few leaves from the pen of the father of Arabic studies in England, Bedwell, 1561 or 2-1632; while Issacson's Life of Andrews, Twell's life of Pococke, the works of Mathias (1599—1658), of E. Pococke, of Hollinger, and others throw new light on old problems.

The Civil war in England diverted the minds of all classes from the East India Trade, and very few pamphlets were published during the years 1628—1648. The Company's trade declined; the trade to India was practically open; and the Government of the period found neither the time nor the opportunity for the discussion of the East India Trade. We have conse-

quently very few important documents on the period. The establishment of the Protectorate and the vigorous foreign policy which Cromwell initiated revived the interest of the people in the East India Trade. The Thomason collection in the Museum contains some very useful pamphlets, while a few manuscripts throw considerable light on the economic policy of the Protector. The East India Merchants demanded redress of their grievances, the formulation of a definite policy, and the destruction of their rivals. Thus Richard Wyld urged Cromwell to nationalise the East India Trade, to dissolve the East India Company, and to make an alliance with "the great Moghul." Samuel Lamb, in his "Seasonable observations humbly observed to His Highness the Protector," traces the Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the East, and advocates various other measures.

For the second period of the Company's history, we have to rely mainly upon the records in the India Office, and Public Records Office. But the historian cannot ignore some of the manuscripts and pamphlets in the British Museum. The latter contain some of the minutes of the Committee and Council for Trade and Plantations, and the development of Orientalism may be traced in the Harleian manuscripts. Thus Numbers 4252—4255 contain a wonderfully graphic picture of the commerce of India during the first half of the Seventeenth century. John Marshall was probably the first Englishman who learnt the Sanskrit language and explained the philosophy, the religion, and the customs of the Hindus. His manuscripts were written during the years 1662-4. Other manuscripts deal with Grantham's voyage in 1683, the Company's trade in Bengal, and the English travellers during the period. They are all important, as they contain much valuable information, and the views of the writers are set forth with charming simplicity,

and unconscious humour. The pamphlet literature was not very large in bulk, as the support of the Company by Charles II, removed some of the causes of the quarrel, while the energetic administration of the Company by Childe was instrumental in keeping down all opposition. Some of the leading economists of the day, Petty, for example, discussed the Trade with lucidity, vigour and directness; but their lack of accurate knowledge, and their misconception of some of the essential features of that trade, detract seriously from their merit.

The last period of the Company's history was, however, the most fertile of all, and the British Museum Library contains a unique collection of broadsides, pamphlets and manuscripts on the subject.

The effects of the Company's Trade on the weavers are set forth in a series of remarkable petitions. Their graphic description, the shrewd and homely wit of many of their writers, the accuracy of some of their figures, and the lucidity and grasp which the writers reveal, are no less remarkable than the deep impression and the sustained and determined agitation which they produced. The weavers' case is argued with consummate ability, and the aid of all the opponents of the Company enlisted in their assaults on the Company's fortress. The promoters of the New Company ransacked all the causes of the Company's decline, unearthed a number of forgotten facts, and invented a few effective stories. The old Company itself was not slow to take up the challenge, and a number of valuable pamphlets and broadsides controverted the statements of the writers, analysed the causes of the quarrel, and exposed the fallacies of its opponents. Childe himself wrote a few of these pamphlets, but the greater part of the work was done by his hired scribes.

Davenaut's matchless defence of the Company, his illuminating analysis of the mercantile system,

and the width of his philosophical outlook, are revealed in a series of valuable pamphlets; while the principles of free trade which the Company advocated during the last ten years of seventeenth century are defended with insight and vigour.

There are serious gaps in the history of the New Company. We are supplied with information, it is true; but our knowledge of the subject would be incomplete without the Mss. and the pamphlets in the Bodleian Library. They are specially valuable for the history of the last ten years of the old Company. A few documents on the earlier period may be consulted with profit, and much curious information may be derived from the study of some of the volumes in the Tanner Mss.

Our most useful materials are to be found in the Rawlinson collection in the Bodleian, and the eight volumes in that store-house of valuable information are our primary authorities for the history of that critical period.

Rawlinson manuscripts, A. 257, contains a number of documents, instructions and commissions to Ambassadors to Algiers, Morocco, etc. The following papers deal mainly with the East India Company.

(1) Commissions and Instructions of the East India Company to the Commander of "the Charles", 1683.

(2) The East India Company's representation to Charles about the rebellion in Bombay.

(3) The King's Commission and order to the rebels there to deliver up the places to the Company.

(4) The Company's instructions to their Agent and Counsel at Bantam, 1683.

(5) Abstracts of the complaints of soldiers and inhabitants of Bombay against the Company.

(6) The Company's complaints against the Moghul.

These are interesting, and should be compared with the pamphlets written by the Company's opponent after the Revolution.

(7) The King's Commission to the Company to make war upon the Moghul.

This volume contains a series of important documents for the history of St. Helena. The Company's letter to James about its war with Aurangzeb is important, as it is the best justification of its policy.

Rawlinson C. 440. This volume contains the Minute Book of the New East India Company. In it are recorded the activities of the Committee of which Childe complained, and in which some of the most determined and relentless of all the Company's opponents took a prominent part.

Rawlinson A. 303 contains some valuable items. Numbers 88-102 are very important, as they deal with the resolutions, proposals, and negotiations of the two Companies for union. The British Museum Library contains a number of broadsides, pamphlets etc., but the fullest, and the most accurate account of the struggle between the two Companies is to be found in this volume alone.

Rawlinson A. 302. This too is a valuable collection, and contains a number of petitions, etc. There is a useful paper containing the proposals of the East India Company and the Treaty Marine. The student should study it in connection with the documents in the Public Record Office. The Foreign Entry Book, No. 65, petitions of the East India Company, the Court Minute Books, and a few documents in the C. O. 77, help us in the understanding of this complex problem. The documents in the Rawlinson manuscripts A. 302 should therefore be studied along with the sources in the Public Record Office. Rawlinson 400 contains interesting tracts on the East India Trade.

Rawlinson A. 334. This is chiefly remarkable for the number of useful log-books. There are besides interesting account of Indian ports.

Rawlinson A. 183. A few letters in this collection may be consulted with advantage.

Rawlinson A. 245. A valuable document; supplies us with accurate information concerning the Company's ships.

A volume in the Tanner manuscripts (*e.g.*, T. 36) contains an interesting letter from Prideaux.

Prideaux urged upon the East India Company the necessity of propagating Christianity in India; Bishop Fell too had proposed the same thing to Sancroft, and the Company had promised, and subsequently rendered substantial aid to the Christian missions in India.

The Rawlinson manuscripts range over every conceivable subject. The amount of bullion exported to the East is detailed with an accuracy and clearness that a modern statistician may well envy; while the Company's defence of its policy as regards the Moghul, the relics of St. Helena Mutiny at St. Helena, and the export of bullion to the East are contained in a series of valuable papers. Rawlinson, Volume 449, contains the Minute Book of the New East India Company, and we catch glimpses of the leading opponents of the Company, as Thomas Papillon, George White, Thomas Pitt, organising the opposition to the Company, interviewing members of the House of Commons, and suggesting ingenious proposals for the destruction of their determined foes. Other volumes furnish us with valuable information on the East India goods, and detail the proposals, and suggestions for the fusion of the two Companies. Volume A 303, in the Rawlinson collection, contains about a hundred letters of Sir Josiah Childe.

In these letters are displayed the inflexible determination, the rough vigour, and the dominant personality of the man. His mention of Interlopers, his references to the Company's opponents, his orders to

the Company's servants, his advices to the Directors, are all marked by the directness and thoroughness which distinguished him.

Other volumes furnish us with interesting accounts of Bombay, Daman, Dieu, and other places.

Our knowledge of the last ten years of the company's history would be incomplete without the rare pamphlets, the invaluable manuscripts, and the priceless broadsides which the Bodleian Library contains.

Another important source deserves mention here. Professor Foxwell's exhaustive collection of economic literature was bought by the Goldsmith's company, and presented to the University of London. It contains an invaluable collection of economic literature, and no economic historian could ignore the wealth of its documents, and the richness of its material.

The Library contains some very important pamphlets on the East India Trade. There is an exhaustive list of books on Money and monetary Problems, and no archive—not even the British Museum—could boast of such valuable works on Money. There are a number of pamphlets on silk, calico, and woollen industries, while the profits and losses of the East India Trade are estimated by several writers. The author of “Interest of Great Britain considered”, discourses on wool and leather, while a treatise on the East India Trade explains that, of “all countries whatsoever, throughout the world, that of the East Indies is one of the richest and most considerable.” The arguments employed are substantially the same as those of Nicholas Barbon, Davenant, North and Child. The British Museum Library does not contain a complete collection of Roger Coke's works, and this is greatly to be regretted, as Coke was an original economic thinker, and his writings on the subject are distinguished by the same qualities of which he made

such a good display in his other works. Some of the notes, written probably by Foxwell, are interesting, and help the reader considerably by the wealth of detail and extensive information employed therein to elucidate a point or drive a moral. The Library contains some very useful and spirited essay by the indefatigable John Cary. There are also interesting letters on the Company's stock, on the weaving of calicoes, on Indian silk goods, and their effect on woollen manufactures. The author of "The state of silk and woollen manufactures considered", showed that Indian silk goods were strong competitors with English silk goods, and that English trade with Italy and Turkey had declined partly through the popularity of Indian goods in England.

All these documents are useful to the historian, because it is mainly through the study of the concrete details that he can get a grasp of the principles upon which they were founded. Adam Smith's conception of mercantalism would have undergone a radical change if he had gone patiently through a mass of material, and waded through a maze of confusing account, and irrelevant data. He would have found that mercantalism was essential to the progress of the people in seventeenth century, that the preservation of national resources and the development of national power were advocated only because they would lead to increase in the commercial prosperity, which is their goal. They were necessary at the time for the question concerned the life of the whole nation and hesitation or delay on the part of statesmen would have meant disaster. Hence the commercial wars, and tariff fights of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

DATA FOR THE HISTORY OF
BRITISH INDIA IN THE SEVEN-
TEENTH CENTURY
IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM AND BODLEIAN
LIBRARIES

INTRODUCTION.

The documents printed below are designed with a view to exhibiting the progress of the East India Trade in the Seventeenth century. All of them show the leading features of the period--its vital energy, coarse humour, shrewd commonsense, and coruscating irony. I have already described the character of the pamphlet literature of the period in my study of "English Education during the years 1689-1750", (Law Printing House, Mount Road, Madras). here it is only necessary to analyse the data printed below. Document No. 1 was published by the East India Company, and should be compared with Documents, Nos. II-V. In the latter, "Prince Butler" tells the tale of the East India manufactures, and puts a series of pertinent questions to the East India Company. His inimitable irony and coarse gibes seem to have produced some effect, and the "Goliath" was subjected to ceaseless attacks from various quarters. Document V. should be compared with VI. Number VII sums up the arguments in favour of the prohibition of the Indian silk goods. Documents VIII and XI should be read together. This is probably the first time that the East India Company afforded help to missionaries in India, the Adventurers promising to pay money "for the education and instruction of young scholars in both or either of the Universities, and such other pious uses of the same kind as the Court of Committee shall from time to time to think of it."

Document X summaries all the arguments in favour of the prohibition of Indian goods, and brings out the leading theories that underlay the writings of the mercantilists with admirable vigour.

We are constantly struck by the homely judgement of the weavers who asserted that "Freedom of Trade is an evil", because it would place the poor at the mercy of the unscrupulous rich. The author's graphic account of the decline of English manufactures through the competition of Indian silk goods and calicoes should be compared with document IX. No. XII describes the constitution of the famous Committee of Trade.

No. XIII is a rare tract by Wyld, "of the East India Trade," and is addressed to Oliver Cromwell. There is no reason to suppose that Oliver Cromwell took personal interest in the East India Trade, Sir William Hunter's contention that the Protector was personally interested in the Trade is not borne out by the data at our disposal. Wyld's "Remonstrance" seems to imply that the Protector was busy elsewhere, and the last two volumes of Mr. Foster's "Court Minutes of the East India Company" bear this out. The Thomason collection in the British Museum contains very few pamphlets on the East India Trade composed during the Cromwellian regime.

Nos. XIV, XV, and XVI are copied from the Additional Mss. in the British Museum.

No. XIV deals with the grievances of the East India Company. It should be compared with Volumes VIII, IX, and X preserved in the Public Record Office, London, C. O. 77.

No. XV is important. It describes the chief settlements of the Company in the East, and gives a graphic account of the commercial activities of its servants. The varieties of raw silk, and other matters, are explained.

The last document in the series, XVI, contains interesting references to the famous pirate Kidd, the Moghul's farman, the Company's stock, and the scheme for the Regulations of "an" East India Company.

I have selected here only the documents in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries; extracts from documents in the other archives will be given in the next issue of the Journal.

The spelling and punctuation of all the documents have been modernised; and, in some cases, only paraphrase of the material is given.

Weavers Twelves Queries. Answered (by E. I. C.)

British Museum, $\frac{816. m. 14}{122}$

Query I.

Why should not all East India silks, and Bengals be prohibited to be worn in England, when by reason of their extraordinary cheapness they will prejudice our manufactures?

Answer:

Because it is in the interest of England to husband in their own expense and send her manufactures to a better market abroad; by what is spent at home the nation is not rich, but a foreign consumption is all profit.

Query II.

Why should we prohibit the Italian and the Dutch silks, when by reason of their dearness, we have let them out of that trade?

Answer:

Because at this time, Italian and Dutch silks increase the balance of trade in the other side, which by reason of our fleet and army is so hard upon us already that much treasure is carried out to pay our debts.

Query III.

Why should we send our gold and silver to the East Indies from which it never returneth?

Answer:

We send no coin of the nation to India; the Act of Parliament directs what may or may not be carried out.

Query IV.

Why should we send the money to employ the poor in India when we have great numbers of poor at home?

Answer :

We want hands, not manufactures in England; sufficient laws to keep the poor to work, not work to employ the poor.

Query V.

Whether, if the East India Company be settled with a stock of two millions, and no restraint be laid upon them, it will not then be in their power to bring in such quantities of manufactured goods as will destroy our own manufactures when they please?

Answer :

It can't be supposed that the East India Company will ruin themselves to injure the public; neither are the woollen manufactures to be prejudiced by any commodity they or any other can buy.

Query VI.

Whether the English wool yielded so good a price or rents so well paid, or the poor so well employed, when the generality of all persons wore East India manufactures as they have, since East India goods are scarce and dear.

Answer :

The advance of wool and all our commodities is occasioned from the foreign demand, not from the consumption in England, and scarcely of East India goods, and the poor never wanted work.

Query VII.

Whether the position of Sir Josiah Childe does not frequently plead that the expense of foreign commodities is the worst expense the nation is inclinable to (meet)?

Answer :

Foreign commodities, if of equal value with our own, are the worst expenses; but if cheaper, to be preferred. It is the interest of the nation to be

carriers to rest of the world; and Sir Josiah Childe is no more infallible in this position than he was in the opinion that the making war on the Great Moghul was the interest of the Company.

Query VIII.

Why may not the linen drapers sell our own silks and other manufactures as well as East India silks and Bengals, etc.?

Answer:

Linen drapers will neither impose nor be imposed on; they say the silk manufacturer in England is like the beast under the Law that provided the hoof, but did not chew the cud.

Query IX.

Whether there is not as much reason for the prohibition of East India manufactures in England as in France?

Answer:

France is no good precedent; they have banished their own manufactures out of their kingdom. Politick England will not endure, any more than to wear wooden shoes.

Query X.

What advantage does this kingdom derive from the sale of our cloth by East India Company in Persia? The Turkey Company used to supply it with cloth, and get in return raw-silk cheaper and in greater quantities, it being the product of woollen manufactures which is the best trade.

Answer:

The East India Company bring rawsilk cheaper and can do in great quantities, it being the product of woollen manufactures which is the best trade.

Query XI.

Whether the prohibition of East India goods will not disappoint the Scotch East India Company and prevent the running of their goods upon us?

Answer:

It will lead to the establishment of the Scotch East India Company, and deliver up the whole Trade to be shared between them and the Dutch.

II.

Prince Butlers Tale

Representing the state of wool case on the East India Company, truly stated. In verse,

British Museum $\frac{816. m. 13}{127}$

Says, at first the East India Company commodities did not sell much.

“Nor were the Nations fond to wear
Such Indian Toys which cost so dear”

Represents that before the rise of Sir Josiah Childe, the East India Company did not export bullion or sold India goods.

“But since the men of Gath arose,
And for their chief Goliath chose,
And since that mighty monarch’s reign,
Whose chiefest aim was private gain,
This trade was drove on by such measure,
As soon exhausted much of our Treasure.
For then our chiefest Artists were,
With Pallem and money sent.
To make and purchase Italian Ware,
For which the Nation pays full Dear.
Then great gifts of finest touches,
To Lords and Ladies, Dukes and Duchess.
So far prevailed as set the fashion
Which plague-like soon spread the Nation.
Our Ladies all were set a-gadding
After these toys they ran a-madding.”

The East India Trade did so much mischief and produced so much grief that the merchants told the Privy Council of the misery wrought by them.

“ The case thus heard, they were inclined
Some proper remedy to find,
And something was in order doing
To put a stop to further ruin ;
But by the craft of the great Goliath,
Who all the host stood in defy (defiance,)
There is this story passing current,
That it was he that stopped the torrent,
By pouring gold in plenteous shower
In ladies’ laps who bore great power ;
Which strangely altered all their measures,
Such charms there are in hidden treasures.
Thus Baricading all complaints,
Drove Jehulike without restraints ;
Filled Town and Country soon so full,
As ruined much our trade in Wool.
And such great stocks of wooll and cloths,
Were hoarded up and eat by moths.
Made clotheirs all and growers grumble,
When clothes or Fleece o’er they tumbled.
And Happy Thrice would England be,
If, while thus living, we could see
Our noble ladies but beginning,
To wear our wool of finest spinning.”

III

Prince Butler’s Queries Relating to the East

India Trade. British Museum, $\frac{816. m. 16}{128}$

(For a reply to this, see the preceding pamphlet headed, Twelve Queries and Answers).

If those two stocks be made one, and the English manufacturers, case be not taken care of, I can plainly see, that they and some folks will be ruined.

Queries

Is is not apparent that the East India Trade has, in a great measure, ruined the Canterbury silk trade,

and obliged most of the London silk weavers, throwsters, to give over their several trades and employment?

Many are gone to Ireland, and set up trade there; others fallen to comb, card, spin, make cloth, cloth-stuff, and serge.

Did not Sir Josiah Childe prove plainly that the expense on foreign commodities is the most expense?

Is it not better we should be at four or five hundred thousand pounds charge per annum for Indian vanities, having such plenty of money, than for the sake of employing our own poor, upon our own wool, and disappoint several maids and their mistresses who would then be at a loss how to dress themselves up their chamber, parlour, and closets?

In another series of question, Prince Butler ironically asks several other question, as, "If bringing down the prices reduce the wages of the poor, and by that means make the nation grow rich, "why may not as well send for the corn to the East Indies, for their's is much cheaper than ours? And employ Dutch shipping? For they always sail much cheaper than we do, and then send our own ships to all foreign nations that either want or hire them?"

All these queries are playfully asked and remind one of Defoe's "Shortest way with the Dissenters",

Butler concludes: "Has not the nation been gainers by the use of muslins and calicoes?"

Querical Demonstrations writby Prince Butler.

Author of 11 Queries. British Museum.

Will not the nation be ruined, when we wear our own growth and manufacture, instead of silks fetched in with our money and bullion?

Had not a hundred thousand poor rather come

to their parishes for want of work, and all the land of England fall two years purchase, than that the cooks' maids should not be clothed in Indian silks and the ladies in calicoes?

Is it not plain that this is a partial Bill, calculated for the benefit of Norwich and Canterbury?

FIVE QUERIES

Humbly tendered, relating to the Bill for prohibiting the consumption of East India silks etc.

British Museum $\frac{816. m. 13}{133}$

(1) Why should East India silks, and Bengals, which to the nation are three times as cheap again as the Dutch, French, and Italian silks, be prohibited?

(2) Why should East India silks, calicoes, and Bengals, that pay twenty per cent more than Dutch and Italian silks, and five times the freight of the Dutch, French and Italian silks, be prohibited?

(3) Why should Persian silks, purchased with English Cloths, more than Dutch French and Italian silks be prohibited?

(4) Why should painted calicoes from India be prohibited, when we must in their room print Dutch, French or German linen, which will cost the nation three times the price?

(5) Why should we enrich our neighbours by prohibiting East India silks, when at one time or other they may employ the costs of those silks against us?

VI

Considerations relating to the Bill for restraining the weating of Indian wrought silks etc.

British Museum $\frac{816. m. 13}{134}$

The author dexterously chosses passages from Sir Josiah Childe, and concludes, "These and many other heads,

which might be gathered out of that ingenious treatise, we humbly conceive and clearly manifest the great prejudices which the nation sustains by wearing East India silk, Bengals, within this kingdom. It will destroy our woollen manufactures, fall the value of our land, cause us to abandon our duty to God and Nature, by lessening the poor's wages and employment, and thereby depopulating our country, forcing our people away to foreign parts where they may be more employed and better paid, and by that means diminishing our strength, impairing our honour, and in the end leaving us only a prey to those Merchants whose private interest are diametrically opposed to the interests of this kingdom."

The author declares that the genius of our people did universally run after those commodities that not only their bodies but also their houses were adorned with manufactured goods of India, to so great a degree that our manufacturers became almost useless, and the poor wanted employment, and unless restrained will have all the sad consequences before named.

VII

Reasons humbly offered for restraining the wearing of wrought silks etc. British Museum $\frac{816. m. 13}{135}$

Before, the goods imported were drugs, spices, saltpetre; and little bullion was exported.

But in 1672 or 1673 several artificers went over to teach the Indians how to manufacture goods for the European markets. After which began the great trade in manufactured goods with India. This was complained of, and proved before several Lords in 1680 or 1681. Whereupon the Company received some discouragement, but finding great gain by wrought silk, Bengals, and calicoes, would not desist trading in them.

About £500,000 in bullion, and but small

quantities of our manufactures have been yearly exported; while great Indian manufactured goods were spent in England and our Plantations, in the room of our manufactures. The East India Trade was increased before the war to a very great height, and their manufactures were in so great request that they soon became the general wear of almost all sorts and degrees of persons, by which our own manufactures were neglected, and manufacturers were under great discouragement, and many had to give over and the poor wanted employment. The Indians have provisions and materials very cheap, and wages at 3 halfpence or 2 pence a day; which disables us, and the rest of the European traders from contending with them, "and for this reason their Trade did increase apace until this war."

Since this war, the East India Company have laboured under some discouragement, and but small quantities of their manufactured goods in proportion to what they formerly brought in have been imported; by reason whereof great encouragement has been given to the manufacture of silk, half-silk, and worsted, which have been very much improved in a great variety of figured, striped and other sorts of stuffs.

As regards the cloth exported by the East India Company, it is not consumed in India, but sent over to Persia, which hinders the Turkey merchants who formerly used to supply these markets.

VIII

Court Minutes. India Office Record Dept.

At a court of committees, held 6th July, 1685, the court considered the proposals of the Bishop of Oxford, discoursed with Dr. Burnett, concerning several pious and rational methods by him proposed for carrying on the charitable work of propogating the

Gospel in the East, but, "considering all persons are mortal, and that Companies and bodies Politick have a kind of perpetuity by the constitution, we are of opinion that it is convenient for the court, upon the acceptance of the truth aforesaid, to prepare or declare particularly by what method or what advice they or their successors shall carry on their designed charitable and pious work, but only that they will do it faithfully, according to the best of their judgments and understandings, without making any kind of game thereof to themselves, and that they will keep account of all monies given by their Adventurers. Notwithstanding, it is the opinion of this court that during the lives of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, (and) Bishops of London, Oxford, Dean of Canterbury, Dean of St. Paul's, and Gilbert Burnet, that all monies employed in the aforesaid pious work shall be disposed with the advice and consent of one or more of the above."

The court approved of the above resolution, and ordered that the Bill for £100 drawn by the Hon'ble Robert Boyle, Esq., or Sir Robert Clayton, be delivered to the Cashier General to be received by him, and placed to the account of monies to be employed for educating scholars in both the Universities in the knowledge of Eastern languages, to qualify them for propogation of the Christian religion in India.

R. BLACKHORNE.

IX

*Extracts from "England's Danger
by Indian manufacture", circa 1698.
Bodleian Library. Folio Q. 658 No. 28.*

"They (East India Company) have already brought over great quantites of double colicoes, used in room

of English flannels for shirts and other uses, and many have told me that it is so much better than flannel made of wool that they will never wear flannel while they can have this. They have brought over great quantities of cotton stockings, and many cotton stocks are now worn and exported to the West Indies; as for stuffs, they have brought over great quantities of cotton stuffs, dyed, striped, plain, mixed colours in directest opposition to woollen stuffs; as for silk and mixt cotton, it were useless to give an account of the many sorts of Norwich and London stuffs that are made of silk and English wool, which they have imitated,

“Yet though these calamities are upon us, and many more in view, though nothing but employing the people can preserve this nation, yet Trade must be free, though French and Italian, Holland and Ireland Trades must be curbed, yet this Trade to the Indies must not be touched. We are resolved to ruin and undo ourselves first.”

X

The English Winding Sheet For the East India manufactures. Bodleian Library. Folio 658. n. 6.

Refers to the argument of cheapness employed by the East India Compay to defend the importation of East India goods.

These objections (to prohibition) are as false and impolitick towards us as their manufactures. We have already and are now inciting the Indians and the Chinese that are a numerous and laborious people, and can and do live without fire or cloathing and with a trivial expense for food. It is impolitick and utterly destructive of our own manufactures.

All those East India exportations are a loss rather than a profit to England, which has for several years past come to that perfection in all wrought, figured and flowered silks, and stuffs, as far

to outdo Holland and vie with France or any other part of the universe. And with these we have many countries with which it is worth our while to trade, which are chiefly our Western Plantations, Ireland, Scotland, and Spain, for what is of East India wrought silks exported from Holland is said chiefly with design to save the Drawback Duty, by stealing them in again custom free, which, if they cannot do, frequently re-enter and turn them again upon us.

In serving our own Plantations with silks and stuffs it is impolitick that any particular persons should take advantage, and the benefits of the Indian should be preferred before the kingdom's; but in the stead thereof, we allow them the Drawback in East India silks, greatly to our own prejudice.

As we have encouraged the Indians in the increasing and making multitudes of wrought silks, as I shall presently instance; so we have not only consumed them ourselves and served our own plantations, but counted and obliged all those parts we deal, to the use and consumption thereof. But the prejudice England will have when we consider that all our English wrought silk is the return of our woollen manufactures, and multitudes of people likewise employed—this prejudice must far outbalance all pretended profit for India. Wrought silks are the exportations purchased with our good hard silver, but if we had otherwise served those parts with silks of our own manufacturing, it would have kept and increased our numbers ten times.

We have the Company's own concession in print that two-thirds of all wrought silks imported was consumed in England, and they (the East India Company) freely and most truly acknowledged before the House of Lords, that nine-tenths thereof was consumed in England, which is sufficient proof what small advantage England

can reap by their exportations of wrought silks, not to be near answerable to the damage they do the kingdom by the prejudice to the Turkey and Italian merchants, besides the above manufactures. As to the exportation of East India commodities from England, it hinders the sale of our own productions and manufactures, which would otherwise vend in those parts as well as our western plantations. It was the English that first put the Indians on that vast increase of silk-worms to that great excess they now are of throwing, dyeing, and weaving, when both they and Indians could not do less than laugh in their sleeves at the Act that prevents throwing and dyeing, (the profit whereof being wholly lost to us, and gain to India in being after wrought into silk); it was only the English that sent over artists of all these trades and patterns that might suit the European humour.

It is visible, now, how the fancy and humour of the female sex, with the advantage the late law hath given them, inclines several men of great stocks, and many of them out of necessity and against their judgment, merely for the employment of their estates, to strike into this pernicious East India Trade, so that the vogue and cry is, like our watermen, with a "buy India, buy India", to almost a total neglect and disrespect of the good and welfare of the Turkey and other more advantageous trades of England, with a subversion of our most profitable manufactures; for they have left our embroideries little more than a name, and both cabinet and fan-makers are forced to be contented to become their jobbers and brokers, by applauding and advancing the price of those commodities. The poor button-makers indeed are secured by law, else we might have expected whole cargoes of that commodity. As for the ribbon-makers (in which many of the under Broad-Silk weavers

hoped to take sanctuary) their case is harder, for the Indian merchants have set the Indians thereon, and now bring them (though prohibited by law), and enter them at one custom house, under the denomination of parcels of wrought silks, and lately one parcel was seized and is at the Custom House warehouse. They are now on a trial of skill with the gun makers, there being two parcels lately come for a sample. By the above we may directly conclude what East India Traders will do if not restrained, and, as they have already almost swallowed and engrossed the silk-weaving, throwing, and fan-making of England, and brought all our cabinet-making into contempt, they will by the same way ruin all trades and manufactures. The very mercer they strive to ruin, by their setting up retail warehouses, and, if not prevented, they will, if possible, effect it. Then plenty of copper and tin will give them opportunity to ruin both our brasiers and pewterers, tin-men and mines. The joiners and carvers they have pretty well encroached upon, and though modish garments from France were always accounted grievous to us, yet from the East India multitudes of them are brought to the great prejudice of the traders. They may, in course of time, miss our most ingenious Art of Frame-making and needle-knitting. Unless they become very self-denying, the whole cargo of all manner of upholsterers is preparing, and our upholsterers shall have the benefit of setting them up. The author then goes on to sempstresses. "That our makers in iron and steel, which commodity will be more to us than that of wool, shall, in little time, escape better than the silk manufacturers, is very improbable. I am informed that there are great quantities of gold and silver and other trimmings for ladies and gentlewomen's garments prepared and coming".

"By these means thousands of broad looms, and hundreds of throwsters' and twisters' mills stand to spoil and ruin, and many thousands of people are forced to transport themselves or beg, or steal or starve," while the Mughal's subjects are encouraged and employed, and multitudes of looms and mills are made to imitate those silks and stuffs lately exposed at Skinner's Hall.

After referring to decrease in numbers, the author says "as people fail, rents will do also. But the damage of silk and stuff manufactures is the greater as the woollen and twisted manufactures are dependant upon it. That as the export of silk decreases, so will the exportation of woollen decrease." "The parish of St. Bishopsgate, whose many bylanes and alleys, being chiefly inhabited by workers of silks and their dependants, do so abound with poverty that for maintenance and prevention thereof, though their assessment is distributed upon most of their inhabitants of what they used to pay to the Poor Rate, they are nevertheless obliged to pay thirty-four months' assessments thereto, to pay former debts, in which time the churchwarden, at giving up his account, brought the parish indebted for that year upward of £300 more."

I doubt not all parts where they inhabit suffer alike. In the end, it (East India Trade) must produce empty purses, empty-houses, empty towns, a small, poor, weak and slender people, and what can we imagine will be the value of land; as things are nothing can prevent ruin. It is worthy of consideration that abundance of particular weavers and traders that are destroyed both in Canterbury and Norwich did employ more numbers of people than any country or corporation work-house, though great charge to the public, can possibly do."

The author contrasts the advantages (as regards employment, etc.) derived by England from the Turkey Trade with that from the East India Trade.

The following observations are worth notice :—

“The living bodies of people are the best riches and strength any country can be possessed of.”

“It is impossible that any people of His Majesty’s kingdom can enjoy this blessing of people better than procuring or allowing the employments and wages for their subsistence.”

“That no manufactures employ so many people as silk weavers.”

The pamphlet was written on January the 1st. 1700.

Postscript.

“There are now no less than ships coming from and on their way to India, which is an amazing consideration to all that value the preservation of old England. One ship, the ‘Rising Eagle,’ has arrived. The common report says she brought 97 chests of wrought silk and not one pound of raw.

The Undone Broad figured silk weavers, both of London and Canterbury, that have already laid down their trade, with their mounters spoiled and harnesses rotten, can never venture to start looms on any other security than future prohibition as required, which, if not granted, will occasion the sinking of those that remain to the utter loss of that manufacture in England.”

XI

Bodleian Library. Tanner Mss. N. 36.

An agreement of East India Company’s Directors and members, saying, The East India Adventurers and others moved therewith by the Court of Committees, upon the proposal of John, Bishop of Oxford (John Fell ?) for advancing the pious design, do undertake for ourselves

severally that during the continuance of the present Joint stock we will pay yearly into the Cashier General of the East India Company money for the education and instruction of young scholars in both or either of the Universites in Eastern languages, and such other pious uses of the same kind as the Court of Committee shall from time to time think fit." Sir Josiah Childe gave £10 per annum, and other members contributed in proportion.

Total promised £122-0-0 per annum.

XII

Analytical Index to Rememberancia, preserved in the Archives of London. A.D. 1579—1664. p. 530.

Letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

"His Majesty, to encourage and maintain trade and commerce with foreign parts, had determined to appoint, under the Great Seal, a committee of able persons to take all matters into their consideration, for which purpose they desire that the court of Aldermen should give notice to the following Companies, the Turkey Company, the East India Company, Greenland, Eastland, and the Incorporated Traders for Spain, France, Portugal, Italy, and the West India Plantations, to present the names of four of the most active members of their body, out of whom His Majesty would select two, and would join to them, merchants, experienced persons, and some of the members of the Privy Council, under whose advice might be inserted in the several treaties, such articles and clauses as should render the nation more prosperous and flourishing in trade and commerce."

Dated August 17, 1660.

XII

"*Remonstrance to the Lord Protector Cromwell.*"

by Wylde, of the East India Trade.

British Museum.

In this vigorous pamphlet, Wyld, who seems to have lived at Surat, proposes that a "commodious harbour" should be settled, because they know that His Highness would be able to give protection; so also may the Great Moghul willingly embrace an offer of aid by sea, in his war against the Dutch. "All this is left to the judgement of Your Highness. Which of those wars may be most advantageous to the Commonwealth, and most honourable to the Nation? That of the voluntary surrender of the town of Dieu by the inhabitants thereof seems to me the least of charge and most of freedom and safety; for the greater part of them are Moors, Banians, heathens, etc; nor is it unlikely that some of the Dutch garrison of the Molucca and Banda Islands may take example from the other, their present condition being little better than slaves, out of hope of delivering their own country. But this and others failing, it ought not to be put into practice upon any sudden intention of gaining the sovereignty of those seas." Wyld suggests that "we should apply *Lex talionis*, and to turn them out of those trades will be but what they have long laboured at and had even now affected, had not Your Highness treated them into better manners here at home". To effect which there are two things.

"(1) There to be sent out ten or twelve good ships" every year for the trade between port and port, in India itself. Gives elaborate rules for the sailing of ships, etc.

(2) and there ought to be raised a "National Stock", thus :—

(i) £100,000 in Bristol and all Wales in 3 years,

(ii) £100,000 in Plymouth, Devonshire, Cornwall, and adjacent counties.

(iii) £100,000 in Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, etc. (The several Counties are grouped into divisions, and each division owns £100,000 stock.)

To the City of London is allotted £100,000.

£100,000 is assigned to Westminster, and a proportional amount to "men of court", "lawyers," etc.

£100,000. for persons of state etc.

£100,000 to be raised on landmen, and such as have £1,000 personl estate, to be paid in 3 years by equal proportions. "And if it shall please your Highness to form the trade of Guzanny to that of India, that will supply so many sorts of goods which may proceed and sail towards Barbados and other plantations where calicoes and diverse sorts of stuffs made in India are very proper for those countries, and also may grow into request and advance of Trade; so that we get none from our neighbours which, by having of impositions laid thereon, may in time beat out of use, and bring calicoes and other Indian commodities to those parts."

"All the above being humbly presented for Your Highnesses' consideration as the richest Jewel of Trade in the whole world, when the sovereignty of the Sea commended into your Highnesses' sole possession will render your Highnesses' name most renowned and famous, by vindicating the nation's lost honour and reputations and throwing so rich a trade to the Com-

monwealth, long since obstructed, and kept from us by false friends, whereby they thought to make themselves absolute Lords of the Seas, which they had effected, had not Your Highnesse's wisdom and power overawed them, and beaten them into better humour here at home." The writer—whose name occurs in the Company's Records, see Foster's "Minute Books of the E. I. C"—then offers his services to the Protector, detailing his career and success in the East Indies, at Surat, etc.

XIV

*The Company's Memorial to the Lords of Trade,
March 1668. British Museum. Additional
Mss. 17,018*

Brief of the East India Company's desire to the Commissioners to treat with the Dutch.

1. To consider the Company's petition to His Majesty upon occasion of the late addition of the great naval preparations at Amsterdam, pretended to be done by the East India Company, and from thence to observe how necessary it may be to desire the Dutch Ambassador to a present satisfying this Company for past injuries, etc.

2. They humbly offer for consideration their petition accompanying the report, of the losses sustained from the Dutch, which sum is so great and the proofs so clear and so notorious to the Dutch themselves that if they can get the consideration thereof deferred to the close of the Treaty, they will in the meantime give (harm to the Company).

3. The reasons of this our apprehension will thereby appear to your Honour from their former continued practices, as they are reported by His Majesty's Council for Trade, and the present mode of treating with this Company about the Island of Polaroone, which

island, by the 9th article of the Treaty of 1636, was to be restored to the English in the same state and condition that the Dutch had enjoyed it in the time of that treaty. (It gives a history of the negotiations etc.) Gives a full account of those islands etc. After recapitulating the above, the memorial concludes, "We conceive and hope that your Lordships will prevent the mischiefs and prejudices which may arise from such dishonourable delays and braggings as are offered by those Dutch gentlemen, both to the Honour of His Majesty, and the just interests of his subjects, which we humbly conceive, under protection of your Lordships, cannot be better done than first by declaring to the said Ambassadors that your Honours are consulted previous to any other treaty, first to have full assurance that their great preparation is not introduced to the prejudice of His Majesty in any of his dominions or the Trade of his subjects in India or elsewhere should this army be immediately against the Portugese in India, the consequence must necessarily ruin our Trade. The memorial suggests that they should be allowed to compile a full account of them before the departure of those ships, amount and satisfaction of former losses, and be firmly bound in good and equal stipulation for freedom of our future trade in India.

XV

Samuel Baron on the East India Company's Trade. British Museum. Additional Mss. 34,123, June 1695.

Bombay is without question a most excellent harbour, able to contain a fleet of ships and a fit magazine of all warlike stores, but as there is little merchandising at court, so, that place is appointed as mistress and directress only to give the necessary orders. Surat is extraordinarily well-situated, and not improperly

termed the Moghul's chamber and seaport to Agra, Lahore, and Brampore etc. It can both take off and furnish a cargo for any part in India whatever. The goods sent yearly to Europe are Bastas of all sorts, as well crown blue as white, cotton yarn; and atlases, niconeeses, brawles; Cambays; Guinea stuffs; indigo; drugs of several sorts; besides diamonds that come overland from Vizapore and Golconda and pearls that are brought from the Gulf of Persia, Aden, Moche, and Judda, where they dispose of these; from thence they are carried throughout the Grand Seignieur's dominions, and by way of Aleppo, Alexandria, and Smyrna, transported to Europe."

PERSIA: The Trade to Persia is likely to prove very considerable, because factories being settled in Isphahan and Shiraz will open and encourage a free correspondence to and from Gambaroone, whereby our settlements on both coasts and Bengal in particular would be gainers and the abuses committed by the Armenians in some measure prevented. The factories down the Malabar coast thrive very well.

The Presidency of Fort St. George is at present the most considerable to the English nation of all their settlements in India, whether we regard it in reference to the trade to and from Europe, or the commerce from one part of India to the other.

The usual freight and prices of Bengal goods are fine piece goods, mulmulls, taffatees, sanols, etc.

Our correspondence with Acheen is in a manner broken off, for, since the scarcity of rice first and now of slaves, the dearness of cotton and the manufactures of this country, it is accidental that any vessel goes from this coast thither, except when having had large quantities of opium from Bengal.

From Fort St. David and this place have gone two or three small vessels to Queder (?), carrying blue com-

missees, and long cloth, etc. The trade to Pegu is not very great. The chief design of sending ships thither being to repair them, though the goods they carry many times turn to account.

Trade reports from Fort St. George, 1678-1695.

The following is the account of the different kinds of silk.

(1) The silk bought at the best hands must be bought in the Putta or short skean, which is first wound off, from the bag of the worm, which commonly is worth from 15 to 19 annas the half seer, 70 tolas each, *viz.*, head, belly, foot; when we buy it of them we buy only the head and belly.

(2) There is another sort of silk which is superior, called Puttany; which is usually worth from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees per seer. This silk is in short skean, like the Putta.

(3) There is another sort of silk which the merchants buy for Agra called Dolloria, which is head, belly, and foot mixed together. According as the silk sells in Agra so the price of silk in Cossimbazaar rises or falls. The exchange of money from Cossimbazaar to Patna and Agra rises or falls as the said silk finds a vent in Patna or Agra. The ordinary long taffaties, 20 by 2, are always betwixt Rs. 4 and Rs. 5 prime cost. At Murshidabad above three leagues from Cossimbazar are made several sorts of silver and gold girdle from Rs. 10 to Rs. 60 each; also fine taffaties from Rs. 9 to Rs. 12 each.

Opium has got dearer from 80 to 100 Rupee prime cost. By reason of a scarcity of it at Guzerat, they have had little for 3 years.

The author then details a number of things of local interest and not relating to this topic.

XVI

Additional Mss. British Museum.

*An Account taken out of the Company's Books
in January 1683.*

	Desperate.	Dead Stock	Quick Stock
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Bantam	26,899 10 0	24,399 5 0	112,006 14 6
Surat	18,784 5 9	139,393 11 0	199,299 17 4
Coast and Bay	24,753 7 0	18,336 15 0	541,796 1 2
St. Helena	None—	10,000 0 0	None—
TOTAL ...	69,937 2 9	192,029 11 0	853,102 13 0

	£ 870,185 0 0
Goods sold in March 1683	400,000 0 0
Owing in all	£ 470,185 0 0
23 Ships costing in all	835,646 7 3
13 Ships costing in all	435,000 0 0
Imports of goods (?)	19,307 17 6
TOTAL	£ 1,289, 954 4 9
	470,185 0 0
	£ 819,769 4 9

On page 7, there is an account of the Stock belonging to the East India Company calculated to 30th June. It includes dues to and from the Company.

The Company owed to sundry persons for interest due to them, and for several debts etc., due, and to them £ 78,389-5-2.

The Balance of this General Account is therefore as follows:—

Dead Stock . .	£ 19,464-16-0
Quick Stock . .	£ 2,487,312-11-3

This therefore is the stock of the Company. Besides the above there are several "doubtful" and "desperate" debts, as well here in as in India, amounting to £111,417-2-6.

Again, the debts of the Kings of Persia and Siam are not included herein. Every hundred pound adventure in the East India Stock is valued as follows:—

In Quick Stock . . £ 230-5-2

In Dead Stock . . £ 97-5-1

The Total price, therefore, of an adventurer's share of £100 was £327-10-3 in 1685.

The Total of all the Adventurer's Stock amounts to £739,782-10-0.

This paper is dated London, 30th September 1685.

Copy of General Childe's letter to the Great Moghal, "Grangzeb" (Aurangzeb). The letter is in the usual strain, and refers to the seizure of English goods and subjects, and prays humbly that "he may be righted where he is wronged, and enjoy for the future Your Majesty's Gracious pleasure, and that Your Majesty shall be pleased to order when you shall please to receive any future complaints from any of my Nation."

The Moghal's Phirmaund is given on p. 10.

The general Accounts of the East India Company Stated: 9th Nov, 1689.

The East India Company is debtor for the sum of £503,520-3-0.

The Company possessed stock, after paying its debts etc, of the following amount:—

£1,468,233-12-20. in April 1689. (Compare this with the preceding.)

XVI

*Some heads humbly proposed for the Regulation
of an East India Company No. 39.*

Additional Mss. 22. 185.

Another copy is numbered 39. These are published in the Somers Tracts, which see.

Another copy with slight modification is entitled "Methods and Regulations", proposed for the settlement of an East India Company.

No. 44 is on a large sheet, while the two above 38, 39, are on a smaller sheet, No. 44 differs also in wording, but there is no substantial difference in the Regulation suggested for the two Companies between 38 and 44.

The Resolution of the House of Commons that "an humble petition be made to His Majesty that the East India Company be dissolved" is numbered in Mss. 22 185 as "45."

The whole stock of the East India Company in 1691 was according to No. 53 of this Mss., £748,000.

No. 58. The Revenues of Fort St., George and St. David amounted to—

Fort St. George	....	£16,285 19 0
Fort St. David	....	£11,996 2 0

TOTAL £28,282 1 0

*No. 59. Extracts from a Bombay letter,
dated, 14th, June 1698.*

"The Pirate Kidd, in the Adventure Galley," near Cochin, met Quaddah merchants, bound from Bengal to Surat and took her. They released the master John Wright, and gave him whatsoever he, claimed as his own. The "Dovell" and other ships aid, but could not come to the rescue."

19th Nov. 1698.

"The East India Company did, on the 18th inst, receive several complaints of one Kidd, a pirate commander of the ships called Adventure Galley."

XVII

*The following documents are taken from the
Rawlinson Manuscripts, Bodleian Library.
Oxford, A 302, Number 293.*

The accompanying documents exhibit the progress of the East India Trade during the last ten years of the seventeenth century with a preciseness and accuracy that might be envied by a modern statistician, equipped with all the resources of Government Publications. The trade may seem small, when compared with the gigantic strides of modern commerce. At that time, however, it was regarded as outstripping all bounds, and threatening the staple industry of England. One cannot gain any idea of the growth of the East India Trade unless one compares it with the relative strength of English weavers, and other manufacturers. Tested mainly by this standard, the conclusion is forced irresistibly on our mind that the cheapness and utility of the Indian manufactures made them formidable rivals, that the English woollen, silk, and other industries were exposed to a danger from which the only escape was the curtailment of the liberty of the East India merchants to import Indian goods into England. It was the instinct of self-preservation, rather than a desire to root out the Company's Trade, that led to the Law of 1700. This action has been completely misunderstood, and Sir George Birdwood waxes eloquent over the injury to the Indian Trade. This is due mainly to his concentration on the effects of the law of 1700. If he had traced the genesis of the agitation that brought about the law, and

waded patiently through the innumerable petitions of merchants, as recorded in the Journals of the Houses of Lords and Commons, he would have found that parliament was averse to the drastic measure, and shelved the matter on several notable occasion. It was not until these complaints assumed a menacing aspect that the law was passed.

The preceding transcripts have described in lively style the progress of the East India Trade; the following documents enable us to reconstruct its history with an accuracy and preciseness that are unattainable in many of the documents of the period. They show at a glance its unusual expansion, and enable one to explain the causes of the intensity of the feeling which the manufacturers displayed during that stormy period.

The following documents are taken from that inexhaustible mine of information on the East India Company—the Rawlinson manuscripts, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Years.	Coast and Bay.			China.			Bencoolen.			St. Helena.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Value.	Ships.	Tons.	Value.	Ships.	Tons.	Value.	Ships.	Tons.	Value.
9	£	£	£	£
10	1	350	?	...	...	...
11	2	580	?	...	...	...
12	97,633	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	75,217	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	78,554	1	200	33,189	...	...	...	1	120	2709
15	81,692	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16	66,051	...	...	...	1	120	3,600	...	...	...
17	142,189	2	650	64,759	...	...	...	...	...	...
18	53,574	1	280	37,554	1	220	7,925	St. Helena.	...	...
19	291,366	2	600	76,206	1	250	6,500	...	...	...
20	36,299	3	900	127,517	...	...	...	...	...	...
	222,911									
	45,677									
									

Owing to the binding of the Mss. the figures are not legible.

Rawlinson Mss. A 302. the Progress of the East India Trade is illustrated by the following figures, supplied by the Rawlinson Mss.

List for 1698.	No. of Ships.	Total value of Cargo.	Total Tonnage.
Bombay and Surat	5	£ 240,264	2,200
Fort St. George	3	£ 113,669	1,025
Bengal	4	£ 223,894	1,770
Bencoolen	1	£ 5,000	220
China	1	£ 37,554	280
TOTAL ...	14	£ 620,581	5,495

List for 1699.	No. of Ships.	Value of George	Tonnage.
Bombay	3	£	1,775
Ft. St. George	?	?	...
Bengal	6	...	2,500
Bencoolen	1	8,000	250(?)
China	2	80,000	800
TOTAL ...	12	85,000 ?	5,125

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S WAR WITH AURANGZEB

BY

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN, Litt. D.

INTRODUCTION

The following documents deal with a period of Moghul history whose interpretation is difficult, and though Colonel Yule's "Diary of W. Hedges", pp. 53-86, Vol. II, Stewart's "History of Bengal," 311-22, Orme's, "Historical Fragments", p. 281 et. seq, Alexander Hamilton's, "A New Account of the East Indies," Mannucci and Valentyn supply us with useful information, a complete collection of data on the company's war with Aurangzeb is still lacking, and we will, I fear, have to wait long before some enterprising student gathers together all the material from the multitudinous records of the Company. Yule was truly a pioneer, and his patient search for data in the labyrinthine Record Dept. of the India Office has not been excelled by any other historian of the Company.

The following extracts are taken mainly from the Mss. Letter Books, Vols. 8-9 India Office Record Dept, and pamphlets in the Public Record Office, London, C. O. 77, Vol. 16. The despatches of the Company's Directors to their servants in the East give us a glimpse into the difficulties of the company under William III. The War with Aurangzeb, it should be remembered, had been planned under Charles II, was actively supported by James II, and this support and constant protection are reflected in the confident tone, and aggressive attitude of the Directors. In them is unfolded the policy which Sir Josiah Childe had defended in his striking treatises. His exposition is clear, and leaves no room for doubt that the company's aim in this war was security, and not territorial sovereignty. Sir William Hunter's view of Childe's policy was based upon an incomplete study of the data. Childe knew the difficulty of the task, and he never for a moment contemplated the possibility of the subjugation of the Moghul dominion by the company. The extracts from his despatches

are clear on the point. His use of the word "political" sovereignty should be carefully noted. By it he meant commercial, and not territorial, sovereignty.

The later despatches of the Directors are pitched in a different key. The war had not gone well with the company's servants in the East. Interlopers had multiplied; James had fled; and William III was on the throne; and some of the actions of the company were denounced in a series of coarse pamphlets. The "melancholy news" of the company's treaty with Aurangzeb, to which the Directors refer in their despatch, produced serious consequences, and exposed the company to ceaseless attacks on its charters. Numerous scribes appeared on the scene, copied Aurangzeb's *Farman*, and accused the company of malpractices in the East. Of these scribes, George White was one of the most vehement. His two pamphlets, extracts from which are given below, are to be found in the Public Record Office, C. O. 77, Vol. 16; they should be supplemented by the company's reply in the same volume. George White suffered at the hands of the company's servants, and his statements should be accepted with caution. There is, however, reason to believe that he voiced the feelings by which the majority of its opponents were animated. This sketch of the data on the subject is restricted to the English documents. The Persian histories of the period are numerous, and contain some valuable references to the Company's war; but they can not be treated in the space at my disposal. I have, therefore, deferred their examination for the present. I have modernised the spelling and punctuation of the despatches and pamphlets.

India Office Record Dept. Mss. Letter Books, Nos. 8-9. A despatch dated 14th July, 1686, to the General and Council of India, says. "You will have received His Majesty's Proclamation commanding all his subjects out of the service of foreign princes in India. A regulation of most indispensable necessity, if ever you think to make the English nation look like political governing state in India, as it is by His Majesty's institution."

A Despatch dated 15th October, 1686, paid the following compliment to Sir John Child.

"We long to hear of our General's safe arrival at Bombay, so that the best of our estate, our strength, and our treasure may abide upon our own land, under the protection of our own laws and guns, and that our own subjects may be enriched by the increase of our shipping. Till we can arrive at this, our station is but precarious, and we build but with untempered mortar in comparison with those wise master-builders, the Dutch, who are the mirrors of the East India policy, and the only patterns to be imitated by any that would lay secure foundations for a lasting East India Trade. We know what difficulties do occur for the effecting this good and national work. But this is the time to break through them all, while we have such a stock of goods in our hands, and such a strength of shipping and men in India."

A Despatch, dated 2nd October, 1686, blames the Fort St. George authorities, "whose affairs are not so well managed as they ought to be", praises Sir John Child, and sends Commission, making him "General Commander, and Director-in-chief of all Persian, and all our affairs in all places."

A despatch to the President of Fort St. George (same date), orders the President to raise revenue at

Madras, and to execute such as shall raise rebellion or revolution in the garrison, "as has been done in St. Helena, and would have been done at Bombay, but Sir Thomas Granthan prevented the King's Justice by pardoning the rebels upon their surrender."

The same despatch defines the policy of Childe in these words. "Notwithstanding all we have said concerning forts, we think it is an excellent station for our affairs to have one fort in every prince's dominions with whose subject we trade, which on the side of India are the Mughal in Bengal (touching which place we gave the necessary order last year.); the King of Golconda, where we have Fort St. George, Gingee country, where we have yet no fort, and the country between Tranquebar and Negapatam, where we have yet neither fort our factory; yet we say amongst us it is a question whether the whole of our trade is losing, and we are engaged in such a controversy in Bengal and upon the West coast, it is not best for the Company to suspend for a year or two, until the other troubles are over, before we settle any new fort in the Gingee country, or to the southward of Tranquebar; and the result of our consultation is that the trade of the place (and good behaviour will be thereby obtained from the king of Golconda, when they know we have our place to resort to if they use ill will) will counter-vail the first cost and future expense of such a fortified settlement."

The Commission to John Child makes him "General Admiral, and Commander-in-chief of all our forces."

A despatch to Surat dated 28th October, 1685, declares. "Do not quarrel with the Dutch, and don't be aggressors in any of their quarrels. But resist force by force. We have heard how shamefully our people have been abused in the late interloping times by the Mughal Governors and officers at Surat, where

our servants were searched to their shirts, whilst the French, Dutch, and Danes pass unmolested, deriding our submission and pusillanimity. We conclude the Moors durst not have offered those insolences to our nation, but they thought us a house divided against itself, and in consequence we could not stand long; wherein they were in the right as to the postures they observed two or three years past. But God be thanked, the case is now altered, and we think you will hear of no more Interlopers in India. And though we cannot blame you for the abuses you were then forced to connive at, yet we would not have you suffer the like for the future. And that you may be always in a posture hereafter to vindicate our first rights against the Moors and all other people, we would have our General keep constant residence upon our Island of Bombay; and all your Surat ships for the future shall be laden from thence for Europe. Though the change will cause a little sullenness to the Moors, yet we care not. We would not have you totally desert Surat, nor make a breach with the Mughal, if you can maintain fair terms. But we will take no abuse from his ministers or servants, nor be obliged to keep any more of our business in his country than we think convenient. Whilst we are at peace, we must (as all nations do) provide for War. This is the surest way to preserve peace. And therefore Mr. Zinzan (?) and Mr. Dacey be chief at Surat, and carry on the trade from Surat to Bombay by sloops. Have sent soldiers by this ship."

A Despatch dated 20th January, 1685, says, "Train up your Blacks to trade, smiths, carpenters, as they are at Batavia."

A commission of James II to the commander of the Beaufort, authorising him to assist the East India Com-

pany and "such forces as shall be employed by them, for obtaining satisfaction for the injuries and losses they have sustained."

In a letter to the Nawab, written in January 1686, the Company charges his servants "with for years invading their rights, extorting great bribes, as often as they pleased, stopping goods from going on board ships, several times besieging our factories, often encouraging debtors to forbear paying debts, and forcing our servants into your courts of Justice and Durbar."

A despatch to Surat dated 31st. March 1686 says, "We have (ordered) all Moors' ships to be seized, and one-sixth part rewarded to the commander. Always keep a strict confederacy with Sombajee Raja, who is a warlike Prince."

A letter to Aurangzeb informs him that "there is a just and considerable debt due from your Majesty to us. We pray that your officers might be required to forbear searching the persons of our servants journeying from or to Surat, which has of late been practiced with indecency. This practice is an indignity to the nation. While the Dutch and the Danes are free, the English are searched. The East India Company therefore pray that His Majesty may be pleased to order those differences and hostilities in the Bay to be composed, that we may have future security, that the like shall not be again attempted upon us."

In a despatch to Surat, dated 20th March, 1686, the Directors say. "The President is required to write, in any article that he may have occasion to write, in which it should be stipulated that all English dwelling within the dominions of any such prince or state shall be delivered up upon demand. The same should be inserted in case of treaty with Sombajee or others."

The same despatch says, "Doctor St. John's letter to great and worthy men here will do him no good, whilst he is nought himself."

A despatch dated 3rd February, 1687, declared, "We shall be heartily glad that all your differences with the Great Mughal may be amicably composed, but we are positively resolved never to be enslaved by the Moor's Governor hereafter, nor to be satisfied with less privileges than our ancestors enjoyed, or than other European nations do now enjoy in India. For the recovery of those privileges we have been preparing these four or five years, by filling our warehouses with all sorts of East India goods, to our infinite cost. Now if we should tamely submit to dishonourable terms, our great store of gold would be but a dearbought prize in the hands of fools that know not how to make use of it. Now is our time, or never, to settle our head factory upon our own land at Bombay, the best part and most valuable of any in the East. Indeed, if we had the political science and martial prudence which the Dutch to their great honour exercise in all the Indies, which we have often recommended to your imitation in all respects, except their inhuman cruelty and injustice, which we abhor."

"We hope this carrying on all our trade and keeping all our ships constantly at Bombay will enable you in a little time to make the revenue of that Island five times what it is at the present time, in imitation of the Dutch wisdom in that respect, which has been the support of all their wars, and the cause of all their sovereign dominions in India, of which wisdom we shall give you instances; as we are informed they make £40,000 revenue per annum out of Batavia, all the cargoes and garrison are deducted; and at the Cape they have so far improved in planting vineyards and orchards and selling up of stillo, that

good Rhenish wine is sold by the planters to the Company at two prices of a quarter of cask, and brandy and cider at proportionately low rates."

Note:—This despatch is remarkable for its clear expression of Sir Josiah Childe's policy.

A despatch dated March, 1687, says. "Now that the Dutch have declared war against the king of Golcondah, while he is under oppression from the Mughal, now is the time for our President to fall into strict confederacy with the king and court at Golcondah, and give him private assistance."

A despatch to Bengal again refers to the quarrel of the Mughal with Golcondah, and urges the President to take this opportunity. "The Emperor of Golcondah is rich enough to pay for any assistance you give him, either in diamonds or in pagodas."

"You must use the natives that are obedient unto our laws with all justice, humanity, and kindness, giving them assurance that we will never oppress them, but they must pay for the support of good Government, as they do in England."

A Fort General dated 8th April, 1687, refers to the proceedings against the Interlopers, and says, "At first half was given to the Company, but with an abundance of many and great solicitations, and partly with our own consent, we have returned four-fifths of the cargo to the proprietors."

In reply to a former despatch referring to the example of the Dutch in raising revenue, the President of Fort St. George wrote that "the Dutch raised no revenue but in conquered places." To this Childe, in *a despatch to St. George, dated 6th June, 1687, replies.* "It is monstrous that you should attempt to impose

on us such a fallacy. It is only the trade and the populousness of that place that give opportunity to the Governor to create a revenue, and not the manner of their first entrance, whether by conquest, or compact, or treachery."

A despatch dated August 3rd, 1687, says, "You should undeceive those ignorant inhabitants by convincing them that we are intrusted by His Majesty with the exercise of sovereign power in the island, and that you shall govern them as often as you think fit, and as the Dutch do in their colonies in India."

A despatch dated 28th September declared. "We are resolved to prosecute the war with the Mughal till we have a fortified settlement in Bengal."

In a despatch to Bombay dated April, 1688, about the peace, Childe expressed his policy "The (Company's) terms are until he allows us fortified settlements to secure our shipping, estates, and servants in Bengal. The rest can be left to the General's prudence."

A letter dated 15th July, 1689, says, "We have, we hope, by this time sufficiently vindicated our nation from the reproach of cowardice, and secured all our ancient privileges in India at the Company's excessive charge, and as the end of all just war is Peace, we would have you now embrace all offers and opportunities of making an honourable peace or truce with any of the native nations with whom you are at variance."

The same despatch says, "Now the Interlopers and other of the Company's maligners are very busy, and pretend great matters they will do shortly by complaints of the Company's management; a lightness and variety which they had always abounded in, especially upon every change of the Government, or lesser

changes of the ministries of State or favourites. But their boastings have always come to nought, and so they will now; all Governments being wiser than to be swayed by such irregular disorderly vain men, though they sometimes give them countenance for reasons not to be mentioned, as also for the enlargement of their own understanding. So abstruse an affair as the East Indian Company is to noblemen and Government that have not been conversant in business of that nature. We hint it to you, so that you may not be deceived by discontented men."

The next relevant despatch is pitched in a different key, "We received your melancholy letter of the 9th of May last, with the former of the 10th February, and observed the contents, which made great deal of noise here, and raised the spirits and wings of our old adversaries, the Interlopers and their adherents, who were so solicited at the first news of the invasion of Bombay that some of them reported that all was lost, and Fort St. George besieged, with other matters of like truth with the former; and thereupon applied earnestly for a new Company to be established by an Act of Parliament. Whereupon the House of Commons appointed a Committee to consider the East India Trade, and how it might be managed to the best advantage of the nation. Several meetings of that Committee were appointed, and the Company were heard in answer to several charges suggested against us, as to the seizing of several of their ships and miscarriages at St. Helena, with which and many other particulars they had filled the ears of the House of Commons with scurrilous papers, printed and given to the members, to which we made replies in print. At length, on the 16th January, the Committee of Parliament came to a definite vote in these words, "That it is the opinion of the House that the best way to manage

it is to have it established in a new Company and a new joint stock. This is to be established by Act of Parliament. But the present Company to continue the Trade exclusive to all others, either Interlopers or Permission ships, until the new be established." This vote was acceptable to us, and our care was to procure an Act for the settlement of the present Company, which, when obtained, we knew it would be long enough before a new one could be established, the rather, because Parliament, as well the Lords as Commons, have been so enlightened as to know the difficulty and danger of making changes in the East India Trade, and that the Dutch never made any, since their first establishment in Queen Elizabeth's time."

"Our adversaries, with many of the Interlopers, upon a sinister construction of this vote, took encouragement to associate together and frame a preamble for a new Joint Stock, very impracticable in most men's judgement, and procured subscriptions thereunto, to the value of £180,000, for carrying on the East India Trade. But before they could get any more subscriptions, or the Honourable Mr. Gray, Chairman of the Committee, could make a report of the said vote to the House, it pleased His Majesty to prorogue the present Parliament to the 2nd April, by which means the design of the subscribers is at an end, and we have reason to believe it will put a stop to the further proceedings of them, and that we shall go on in our commerce without further interruption."

Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London.

*C. O. 77 Vol. 16. An Account of the Trade
to the East Indies, 1691. By George White.*

The advantages of the East India Trade. The traffic will enjoy a capital of £1,200,000; will augment public revenue of the Crown, will annually export to the

amount of £150,000, woollen cloth, lead, and other English commodities. It will have twenty-five captial ships, and therein 3,000 seamen; these ships will be as serviceable in war as in merchandise. It is by this trade alone that we can be supplied with vast quantities of saltpetre at cheap rates.

This Trade now supplies us with varieties of goods for our necessary use and ornament, but the greater part of the commodities brought from India are exported to sundry parts in Europe, Africa, and America, which advances our navigation and commerce.

It will give employment to 200 merchants, factors, writers, etc. This Trade requires to be negotiated with a National Joint Stock, which will render it more diffusive; for it will not be ingrossed into the hands of those who are merchants, but our nobility and gentry will partake of the profit, without any diminution of their dignity or disturbance of their case.

White then replies to three objections. (1.) The exportation of bullion from England. 'By the circulation of Trade, it much augments the treasure of the nation, in species of gold and silver. From the year 1675 to 1683 (both inclusive), there was shipped out by the Company, and private Traders, the amount of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ million in gold and silver, and there was likewise coined in the Tower, four million more. We had at that time prodigious quantities of bullion converted into house utensils, and we had plenty of cash current in the nation.'

During the last four or five years, when our Company have left off their old trade of merchandise, and applied themselves to the Art of War, they have sent out little gold or silver. "Yet I see not the least sign that bullion has increased upon us, but rather the contrary, so that we may say, "The trade to India is the most exuberant source to replenish our treasures, as well as our warehouses."

2. Another objection is that this trade does not take off great quantities of woollen manufactures. But Trade is no more to be forced than faith, and we buy and sell both as to quantities and sortments, as our interest directs.

3. The third complaint is that these tedious and unhealthy voyages destroy great numbers of our seamen. The author (who is a determined apponent of the East India Company) states that many hundreds of our seamen have been sacrificed to the irrational obstinacy and wicked designs of those who have assumed an arbitrary predominancy over the company's affairs." He prophesies that "Blood will certainly be required at their hands in another world, however much they may escape with impunity in this."

White discusses the constitution of the East India Company, mentions their faults, negligence, cowardice etc. "Trade has now degenerated into a trick, and instead of employing a stock in honest adventures abroad, there is lately set up a new Society of Artificers, who blow up the price of stock up and down as best suits their design of enriching themselves by the ruin of others; and this legerdemain is managed by a strange sort of insects, called Stock Jobbers, who devour men on the Stock Exchange as the locusts of old did the herbage of Egypt"

Whites' account of the company's war with the Moghul is as follows—

1. In the compass of five years, from February 1677, to January 1682, they drew out £ 741,647, and two months afterwards, they doubled their stock £ 369,891. In this interim they were moreover at a charge of above £ 300,000, borrowed at interest, and compliments to friends at court. It does look so strange that it ought to be called the wonder of the world."

White says that "things being brought to this sad pass, it is now high time to adopt measuring for the repairing of the ruins. Hence they commenced the war against the Moghul." This is his explanation of the event.

1. The war charges had cost the company £400,000 in sundry affairs.

2. Interrupted the course of our traffic for four or five years, whereby the company have lost not less than £800,000.

3. It has occasioned the loss of thousands of good soldiers and able seamen.

4. It has been the means of destroying five considerable ships, besides.

5. We lost that invaluable jewel, "our Reputation and Respect."

The writer then suggests the following remedies for the evil:—

1. The Stock to be broken up, and another subscription promoted, entirely new, and separate from it.

"There were general Books of Account brought from Fort St. George by the Candois, last February, but a certain man who is at present no more than one of the committee, did lately take away several of their (E. I. Company's) books and papers to his house, about three miles from London, which, if true, is in my opinion a sort of felony that ought not to have the benefit of the Clergy." [Note: He refers obviously to Childe.]

With regard to fortifications and other places in Bombay, White says, "he who thinks these or any other fortifications in the Moghul's dominion can be of some use to us longer than we hold a friendship with the Government of the country, had better keep his opinion to himself" "If the Parliament shall in their great wisdom see cause to give up the great and good work

by encouraging a national subscription to be conjoined to the net remainder of the present stock for a Grand Capital, something of this kind should be notified to the public, and negotiating parties recommended. The merchants will, in five or six weeks, accomplish the matter in readiness to be reported for further consideration, concerning the establishment of this National Company by law."

The gentlemen should proceed in adjusting the value of things that are to be incorporated into the national stock, having power to examine persons upon oath, and to inspect all banks and papers for their information. The affair cannot fail to be fully effected in the aforesaid term, and in the interim ships will be fitting and may well be in readiness for despatch to several parts of India. After this, there should be a committee to manage this national stock. "That wicked thing of valuing man by his stock must be anathematised, and all possible cautions used."

No. 3. Extracts from "A letter to Mr. Nathaniel Finche, in answer to a paper by him," Public Record Office, C.O. 77, Vol. 16. 1689, London. Printed 1689, (By George White).

"When the General gave them the go-by, the company was indebted to the merchants' book made by Bartholomew Harris in 1686. After the General had taken 12 ships richly laden without any declaration of war, he sent word to the Company's creditors that he was ready to pay them, bidding them take care that if they did not come or send to Bombay, their interest would cease. To which the merchants insisted upon being paid in Surat. Hence the Company's answer that they were ready to pay is meaningless."

Refers to the East India Company's tyranieal oppressions of the inhabitants, "with most unjust and

intolerable taxes and impositions at Madras; this has driven many from there and put a general damp and discouragement on all."

White paints in gloomy colours the arbitrary violence committed in Courts of Justice, and describes at wearisome length the "horrid murders" committed at St. Helena. "That the East India Company will succeed in removing the mart of Trade from Surat to Bombay, is but a dream, and is embracing a cloud for a friend."

"As to the Company's Forts on the West coast, Sumatra, Becoolen and Indrapoorna, they are notoriously unhealthy places, and it is looked like death to go there. You ought to be ashamed of throwing yourself out of your most commodious settlement at Bantam."

"With regard to your other forts at Carwar, on the Coast of Malabar, your Company have done no more than build a house for the accommodation of their factors. Your General does not think the game worth a candle. You are still more romantic in talking of a Fort and Town at Retora, in the Queen of Altingas' country, where all you have is a mean slight house, made of cajous, that half a dozen men would pull down to the ground in an hour. The same applies to your forts in the Gingee country." Refers to Chuttanuttee, the large factories at Cuddalore, and at Parto Novo, where the Company had never any factory or other buildings but what they rented. And about two years since they quitted those places, as they have other factories in India. "You have had no settled Factory at Amoy, and have lately farmed out that trade to a suite of Interlopers at the rate of 10 per cent."

As to the three factories in Persia, if "you had known the true story of your Company's affairs in that kingdom, you would have been ashamed to give that intimation; to their eternal infamy, they have irrec-

verably lost their just right and title to a moiety of the customs at Gombaroone."

As to Bussorah, "your Company had no settled factory for years past, till the "Madiera " was sent there upon the honourable design of taking the Surat ships."

White asks Finche he if has not been betrayed, "by him who was Dictator, and who took advantage of your being so great a stranger to these affairs and so, put upon you to publish what he pleased. There are some of the Committee who hold the places on condition that their consciences are at the Deputy's command."

"A short and true account of the present state of the East India Company's stock, as it now lies before the House of Commons.

Stock in England	....	£564,603	17	8
Quick Stock in India				
Debit deducted ....	....	£ 828,360	0	5
		<hr/>		
Total		£1,392,963	18	1

Debts owing in England, £525,702-9-0.

Balance of Quick Stock in England and India, £867,761-9-1.

Dead Stock valued at (though it cost the Company much more.) £498,603-15-3.

Revenue. £27,303-4-2. per annum.

The original stock paid in was but £369,891, out of which the Dead Stock was raised, and the trade till now was carried on with great credit to the nation. By which it may appear that there is sufficient stock left still to continue it.

An important petition of the East India Company dated November 13, 1691 addressed to the "Commons of England in Parliament assembled", and headed "*Answer of the East India company to certain heads*

of complaint exhibited against them by the petitions against the said Company, pursuant to an order of the House dated 13th November, 1691." Public Record Office C. O. 77. Vol. 16.

The Company recites all the complaints, and gives vigorous replies.

CHARGE 1. Causing several of their fellow subjects to be put to death.

Ans. Several persons were put to death at St. Helena; five by commission from the King, and two by a jury. As regards the commission which executed the five, it is a matter of law. With regard to the two executed, they were tried by a jury, and the Company is no way guilty of it, since it was done without any order or direction from them.

2. The Company gave orders to their factories in India to borrow what money they would, and they did borrow great sums, and several withdrew from Surat.

*Answer:—*The Company has also great credit at Surat, and it is customary to borrow money there, the Indian merchants (named in the petition) had lent the Company forty to fifty thousand Rupees cheaper, than they would lend to others, by reason of their punctual payment.

The Company owed in January last at Bombay and Surat, 200,000, and the whole was owing to the Company's broker and banker, who was desirous to continue with the Company's hands, which is proved (by a person named in the petition).

When the last ships came from Surat, it was the opinion of all persons that the Company had an estate at Surat and Bombay sufficient to pay all their debts, with a great overplus, testified by an Indian

The General withdrew from Bombay suddenly because he was in danger of being surprised, *and most, if not all, debts have been paid.*

(This is proved by Captain Andrews, and Captain Wildey.) *

3. In spite of the passes given by Company's Agents belonging to the Moghul, they did afterwards take and seize the said ships.

Answer :—Some ships were taken that had passed, and brought to Bombay, but were all delivered back to the owners by the General, Sir John Childe.

4. That after taking these ships, they made war upon the Moghul, which produced barbarous results.

Answer :—(a) Before the war, the Interlopers styled themselves the New Company, and had their flag carried before them in the Hugly, and purchased a "farman," which prejudiced the Company.

(b) The natives, taking advantage of these dissensions, extorted great sums of money, and denied them ancient privileges.

(c) The Company sought satisfaction at the Moghul Court.

(d) No ships were taken before the war.

(e) The war was made by the King, and not by the Company. Proof touching the peace and goods delivered.

I. By the Articles of Peace, all ships and goods taken from the natives were to be delivered.

II. The Company's credit was so good at Surat that the Governor gave a "farman" before the goods were delivered by the Company.

III. The Articles of Peace are very honourable, and to the advantage of the nation.

5 The taking of native goods on freight on board their own ships, and giving Bills of lading for the same, and afterwards serving the same to their own use.

Answer :—There were 179 bales of native goods laden on board the Charles. The goods were bought for England, but paid for by the Company. The

Company had noticed in their letters that those bales should be accounted for.

6. The great violence and depredations on the natives of India.

Answer:—The Company know no violence or depredation committed upon the natives.

7. Oppressing English natives at Fort St. George and Bombay, by raising their customs, and exacting other great duties.

Answer:—Owing to the cost involved in the fortification and enlargement of place, they have in a small measure raised their customs, but so far from oppressing the English on the Natives, that in all there is but five per cent customs; 18*d.* ground rent for a large house, 12*d.* for a middling house, and 9*d.* for a small one, together with some ordinary port charges; and the inhabitants of the house are contented.

8. The barbarous usage of the English seamen, to force them to serve in the war.

Answer:—The Company did not force any seamen to serve in the war.

9 The raising money upon His Majesty's subjects, upon the exportation of English woollen manufactures, and a permission to trade to India.

Answer:—They raised no new money upon His Majesty's subjects or otherwise, but what is done by the agreement of the parties, etc.

10 The farming out of their trade to and from India to the Armenians, and other foreigners.

Answer:—The farming out, etc., is the most national thing that ever was; and by means of the Armenians the rent of the woollen cloth is effected.

11 The seizing of goods and ships of our fellow subjects.

Answer:—All were seized by virtue of His Majesty's Commission and pursuant to the Charter.

12 Selling several quantities of goods by private contract.

Answer :—Before a sale by private contract, leave is asked by a General court and time is fixed for making the said sale, and public notice given thereof in writing, fixed on the Exchange, in order that any person might bid for them, and that they should be sold; and sealed papers are delivered up, and upon the opening of the papers the person that appears to bid most has the goods.

13 Causing to be delivered through the late King a letter to judge of the Admiralty, to delay justice in a cause.

Answer :—They never endeavoured to stay justice.

14 Their making large dividends, and their pretence for so doing.

Answer :—The Company are at liberty to make such dividends as are most agreeable to their circumstances, and the reason of their late dividend was occasioned this wise ; they having made several applications for liberty of sending ships for India, which would not be by them obtained to the number they desired, by reason of the pressing occasion for seamen to man the fleet, and Their Majesties lacking several of their ships for their public service and having certain advice that by reason of the war between the Moghul and the king of Golcondah etc, as also a great famine and mortality on the coast of Coromandal and other parts of India, most of the Hindu craftsmen had been destroyed, the Company's Agents and factors could not procure colicoes for their money, owing to which the Company's stock both here and there had to be dealt with, and this was a reasonable case for making dividends.

The Company know nothing of the truth of the statement of a member of Parliament that the Company said that they would put themselves out of the

hands of Parliament by declaring large dividends.

15 The multiplying of votes has given occasion to particular persons to ingraft themselves, etc.

Answer :—The number of votes in proportion to the stock is agreeable to the present constitution of the Companies. All the other companies find the wisdom of this.

As to the vote, though in the General Court and in courts of elections votes are sometimes given in proportion to the value of the stock, yet in the court of committees every one has but one vote.

16 Their sending out of ships at unreasonable times to India, and the long delaying of them there, to the destruction of their ships and men.

Answer :—The Company have always endeavoured to send out at seasonable times, as it is their interest to do so; some time for want of seamen, etc, they may have overstayed their time. This has not been due to the Company.

THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE REIGN OF JAHANGIR¹

INTRODUCTION

“No presentation of history”, says G. P. Gooch, “can be adequate which neglects the growths of the religious consciousness, of literature, of the moral and physical science, of art of scholarship, of social life.” An inquiry into these aspects of life, from which, as Acton held, history derives its best virtue,² will form the subject of later articles. Here, it is only proposed to discuss as briefly as possible the spirit and form of the governmental organisation under which our ancestors lived three hundred years ago. A discussion, based on scanty and dispersed materials, is bound to be perfunctory, but the rays of light radiating from the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian chronicles, foreign accounts and vernacular literatures may be focussed so as to suffice, with the help of that imagination which, as Mommsen has said, is the author of all history as of all poetry, a clear view of the fundamental principles and institutions of the Mughal state. Again, it is

¹ This article practically forms the fourth chapter of the writer's forthcoming book, “History of Jahangir.”

² Acton, Inaugural Lecture on Modern History.

possible to compare some features of the Mughal Empire with those of other vast country-states such as the Roman Empire, the Frankish Empire, the Russian Empire, the British Empire. Bryce warns us that what are called historian's parallels are often misleading, but he admits that they are usually interesting and often illuminating.

The determining factors in Indian political organisation

The spirit and form of every polity are determined, in general, by the geographical and economic, social and intellectual environment. The vastness of the Indian plains determined, once for all, that society should organise itself not on the pattern of the classical city-state but on that of a country-state. The predominantly agricultural character of the country determined that the village should form the unit of society. The two together determined that, until science annihilated distance, the people should not develop that intensity of life, that eager civic spirit, that keen political aptitude which brought democratic government into being in ancient Greece and modern Europe. The ancient and medieval Indian polity could, in the plains, assume only an aristocratic or a monarchical form. A variety of influences concurred to decide that the latter should be the rule, the former the exception. An aristocracy generally rests on the combination of superior birth, with wealth, education, fighting capacity or political experience. The Hindu caste system served to divide these advantages so as to leave absolute predominance to no single class. The poorest and most ignorant Brahman thought himself better born than the proudest baron and the most opulent merchant-prince. His community, as a whole, easily surpassed the rest of society in intellectual strength. The Vaishya wielded

the influence which wealth and commercial experience seldom fail to confer. The warlike Kshatriya enjoyed the advantages of superior vigour and political experience, but could not ride roughshod over those on whom he depended for intellectual guidance and financial support. His community, moreover, was much too numerous and much too diffused to form a working aristocracy or oligarchy. Among the Muhammadans, the strong democratic feeling could not brook a class-ascendancy. Another influence working for the monarchy, was the prevalence of war, which demands concentration of power for its efficient conduct. From one point of view, the whole of Indian history may be regarded as a conflict between the centrifugal and the centripetal forces. The fundamental geographical and cultural unity of the country prompted every state to expand itself over the whole of India.

The prevalence and nature of the monarchy

The difficulty of communication—the central difficulty of all medieval Government—checked the process and tempted the outlying provinces of every vast empire to cut themselves adrift from the main body. The result was twofold: a multiplicity of principalities, and constant rivalry and frequent war among them. The presence or menace of danger, as usual, disposed the Government to assume a pronounced monarchical form and the people to acquiesce in strong administration. Thus it was that with a few exceptions which admit of easy explanation from the operation of extraordinary causes, Indian society in the plains organised itself, as far as central organisation was needed at all, round the monarch. From the very nature of the case, therefore, the Mughal Government was an absolute monarchy, but it is childish to dismiss it as a mere arbitrary oriental

despotism which requires no further analysis. There are, as Aristotle perceived, several varieties of monarchy. A perfect absolutism capable of ruling or misruling everything under it is a monstrosity unknown to nature or sober philosophy. Not even the most robust or the most gifted individual can impose his will on any large number of men for any length of time without their at least partial willingness. He must base his power on the willing consent of some powerful group. Stuart Mill lays down that Government either rests in, or is passing into, the hands of the strongest section of society, and the dictum is as true of monarchy, even, of "oriental despotism", as of aristocracy, or democracy. The first step in the study of a Government is to discover the sections of society who support it, who can effectually resist it, for support implies the capacity of resistance, whose good will it has to conciliate and whose standard of duty, efficiency and humanity it has to maintain in its conduct.

No "Mughal caste."

The term Mughal dynasty or Mughal administration suggests the idea of a Mughal caste and so far it is a complete misnomer. For the present purpose, indeed, it is immaterial material that the term Chagatai Turk is a more correct designation, for it is equally suggestive of class. As a matter of fact, there was no ruling caste in 17th century India, no one caste to which the monarch belonged or on which he primarily relied for support. The contemporary observers were bewildered by the term Mughal, and were led to assign fanciful meanings to it. Salbanke, an East India factor who resided for many years in the country during Jahangir's reign, says that the term included Persians, Turks and Tartars. "Yea, very often they

call Christians Mughals also." He, as well as Sir Thomas Roe, says that the term meant "circumcised,"¹ that is, it was applicable to all Muham-madans. Bernier remarks that it was enough to have a white complexion and to profess Islam to be called a Mughal.² Boullaye-le Gouz and John Fryer simply give 'white' as the signification of the term. The dark Mughal crowds that hung over the north west frontier during the 13th and 14th, centuries had familiarised the people with the word. During the subsequent centuries it was loosely applied to those who came from the north-west with Babur in 1526. Babur himself was half a Chagatai and half a Mughal. Humayun was born of a Chagatai mother but Akbar was half a Persian; Jahangir half a Rajput and Shah-jehan more of a Rajput than of a Turk. The Mughal officers belonged to various nationalities and to no one predominantly—Turk, Tartar, Persian, Afghan, Indian Muslim, Hindus of all castes.³

The purely official character of the nobility

The fundamental fact about this composite nobility is its purely official character. The element of heredity is conspicuous by its absence. Neither the offices nor the titles descended from father to son. The bulk of the property of a nobleman escheated to the state on his death. His children were left with just enough for a fair start in life. For the rest they swam or sank according to their genius and deligence. And aristocracy is, above all else, the

¹ Letters Received by the East India Company from its servants in the East vi, 183-5.

The embassy of Sir T. Roe (*ed* Foster p. 312)

² Bernier, *Travels ed.* Constable p. 3

³ See the *Maasir-ul-umara*, the invaluable dictionary of Mughal grandees which Shah Nawaz Khan or Samsamuddaulah compiled from contemporary, records in the 18th century.

Jahangir gives short biographical notices of many of his officers in his *Memoirs*.

work of time and the system of escheat left it no time to develop. The European observers, accustomed to the idea of an hereditary nobility, dilate on the injustice of escheat, and Bernier goes so far as to ascribe the decline of the country to it. As a matter of fact, the ruthless operation of the rule saved the country from the curse of such a powerful, selfish nobility as reduced Poland to anarchy and ruin or such as fattened on the poor people of France, in the eighteenth century. If it encouraged luxury and ostentation, it diminished the motives of financial extortion. It served to restore to the public exchequer a part of the vast sums that were disbursed in salaries ¹. As in the Roman Empire, the grandeés were prohibited from contracting marriage alliances without the Emperor's permission.

Absence of the zamindari system

Over the greater part of the Mughal Empire, the modern Zamindari system did not obtain. The only hereditary magnates in the empire were the protected Hindu chiefs in Rajputana, in the hills and in out of the way tracts.

The Mughal state not based entirely on force

It was not on caste then that the Mughal Empire primarily rested. The word empire suggests the idea of force. It may, indeed, be admitted at once that every state rests partly on force. The theory of force as the basis of the state is as old as the Sophists. In Plato's Republic Thrasymachus argues in its favour. But, firstly force implies the willing

¹ Speaking of the noble's huge income, Sir T. Roe says, "As they die and must needs gather, so it returneth to the king like rivers to the sea . . . (He) leaves the widows and Children their horses, stuff and some other stock and then puts them into a signiory and so sets them to begin the world anew" Embassy 110-11. See also Salbancke (Letters Received VI. 187), the Hawkins Voyages pp. 424-5. Manucci (ed. Irvine) I. p. 205, see also Bernier W. H. Moreland (India at the death of Akbar) falls into the mistake of supposing that the effects of merchants also escheated to the state.

instrumentality of an army drawn from a caste or from the people at large. Secondly, force can from only one of the supports of a state—never the sole or the chief support. One can do everything with bayonets except sit on them.

Force not the basis of the Mughal State

It was a physical impossibility that a vast population scattered over a vast country in a million villages and towns should be ruled primarily by force for any length of time. Moreover, in all medieval studies it is to be constantly borne in mind that the disparity between a state army and an armed rabble was far less in those days than it is now. Force would provoke force and the state might soon be in serious danger. Macaulay has well expressed the idea in a passage which, *mutatis mutandi* is as applicable to Indian as to English history and which has only gathered emphasis from the lapse of time. "It is difficult" he writes, "for an Englishman of the nineteenth century to imagine to himself the facility and rapidity with which four hundred years ago, this check (of physical force) was applied. The people have long unlearned the use of arms. The art of war has been carried to a perfection unknown to former ages; and the knowledge of that art is confined to a particular class. A hundred thousand soldiers, well disciplined and commanded, will keep down ten millions of ploughmen and artisans. A few regiments of household troops are sufficient to overawe all the discontented spirits of a large capital. (In the modern state of society) resistance might be regarded as a cure more desperate than almost any remedy which can afflict the state. In the middle ages, on the contrary, resistance was an ordinary remedy for political distempers, a remedy which was always at hand and which,

though doubtless sharp at the moment, produced no deep or lasting ill effects. If a popular chief raised his standard in a popular cause, an irregular army could be assembled in a day. Regular army there was none. Every man had a slight tincture of soldiership and scarcely any man more than a slight tincture." Difficult as it is to day, it was much more difficult then, to hold down a population by sheer military force. In order to last for more than a century and half, the Mughal empire must have had a more solid basis.

The Mughal State not a theocracy. The struggle between the Church and the State in Europe, and in India.

That basis, however, is not to be sought in religion. It is true that the semetic conception of the state is that of a theocracy. The Mosaic system views the kingship as a mere lieutenancy of God, as bound by the laws which He has revealed. Islam enjoins the Caliph or the commander of the faithful the—Indian Mughals assume for themselves the authority of the Caliphate—to rule according to the Quran. The Ulama, the learned theologians and lawyers who, in spite of Islam, formed an Islamic priesthood, claimed the right of interpreting the Quran and, therefore, of guiding the policy of the state. In India, the Islamic state was glad to ally itself with the church during its days of weakness. As in Europe so in India, the church stood like a governess, like a monitor, to the state. But as the latter attained majority, the governess was told to go. She refused to be deprived of the authority to which she had been accustomed so long, and a bitter conflict was the result. The long series of struggles between the Holy Roman Empire and Papacy, between the English Plantagenets and the Archbishops of Canterbury, and

between the French Kings and the Popes, constitute one of the most fascinating chapters in medieval European history. A counterpart is not wanting in Indian annals. It is a remarkable coincidence that while Frederick II, a strikingly modern sovereign in a medieval age, was locked in a death-grapple with Innocent III and Honorius, Alauddin Khilji, in many respects a curiously modern ruler in the darkest period of Indian history, was engaged in war with the Islamic hierarchy. The struggle of Philip IV of France against the Papacy nearly coincides in time with that of Muhammad Tughlak against the Ulama. By the sixteenth century, the state in India as in Europe is well-nigh emancipated from ecclesiastical control. Here, as there, a Renaissance and a Reformation, similar in some respects though different in others, had a large share in the emancipation. Akbar in India, like his contemporary Elizabeth in England, completed the process in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Akbar's was the more difficult task, but the blows he dealt in quick succession told with fatal effect. The priesthood were forced down to their natural place in society. The state could afford their guidance no longer, they had forfeited much of their influence with the people; if they refused to march with the times, their narrow, bigoted and reactionary policy would inevitably bring on their allies the hostility of powerful sections of the populace. In India, in particular, a fanatical Muslim sacerdotal order would exasperate the teeming millions of Hindus, and shake the state to its very foundations. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Aurangzeb tried the experiment, and soon found himself and his empire in deep waters. Jahangir had the wisdom and the statesmanship to adhere closely to the policy so clearly enunciated by his father.

The willing acquiescence of the people at large.

It is thus neither in religion, nor in force, nor in caste that we can find the basis of seventeenth century Mughal rule. That is to be sought in the willing acquiescence of the people at large. A great deal of nonsense has been talked about the nature and location of sovereignty, but they are right who say that Government always rests, partly at least, on the general will. The social contract of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau is historically a fiction, and philosophically, as Green has shown, untenable. But as Bosanquet has recognised, it contains an important element of truth, in so far as it points to the popular element in all stable Government. Despotism can, of course, never appear in a democratic form, but so far as it represents the popular will, it may possess the essence of the democratic principle. Such was the despotism of Pisistratus in Athens; of Augustus in Rome; of Charlemagne in Germany. The Norman-Angevin despotism in medieval England was based on an alliance of the monarchy with the people against the turbulent, rapacious fendal baronage. Prothero has emphasised that the Tudor Monarchy was essentially a national monarchy. Thiers has painted, in colours of matchless brilliance, the enthusiasm with which the French nation threw itself into the arms of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799. If we resolutely refuse to be deceived by appearances, we shall perceive that the principles of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, are independent of Governmental form, that they can be found at work in institutions of any character, and that more often than not they are found mixed together. The Mughal empire know nothing of elective assemblies and constitutional rights, but it had this much of democratic element in it that its general policy was in accord with the wishes and sentiments of the people.

*Conditions of the popular acquiescence, and
Religious freedom.*

One of the implicit conditions of popular compliance with any Government in India is sure to be freedom of religious belief and worship. The Muslim invaders soon realised the importance of religious toleration and shaped their policy accordingly. Muhammad bin Qasim's administration of Sind in the eighth century was a shining example of moderation and tolerance. The conquerors of north India in the thirteenth century tried a different policy and found it hopeless. By the fifteenth century, the age of systematic persecution was past. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, India as a whole presented a sharp contrast to contemporary Europe in point of religious freedom. Akbar, to whom the whole credit for toleration has been wrongly ascribed, really only embodied the spirit of the age. He carried the policy to its logical conclusions, but the policy itself was the outcome of sheer necessity; it was the *sine que non* of the very existence of the Government. Even Aurangzeb refrained from its complete subversion. The European travellers who visited India during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan bear eloquent testimony to the perfect religious toleration in the country as a whole.¹

Social freedom.

Another implicit condition of the popular support of Mughal rule was freedom of social life. No

¹ "All religious" says the Rev. Edward Terry, "are tolerated and their priests in good esteem. Myself often received from the Mughal himself, the appellation of Father,....." Purches ix. 52.

"He (Jahangir) is content with all religious" says Roe, "only he loves none that changes." Embassy p. 314.

Della Valle noticed that Hindus and Muslims "live all mint together and peaceably, because the Grand Mughal.....although he be a Muhammadan (but not a pure one as they resort) makes no difference in his dominions between the one sort and the other, and both in his court and armies and even amongst men of the highest degree, they are of equal account and consideration" Travels I. p. 80. For the amusing case of Della Valle's Persian servant who, ignorant of Mughal policy, hastened to change his creed, see Travels I. 120-9.

Jahangir himself recognises the value of his father's religious policy in his Memoirs.

Government could have lasted twenty four hours if it had sought to subvert the social customs and manners of the people. Reform could come, and partially it did come, from within, but Governmental interference could not be brooked. Akbar sought to abolish the barbarous practice of widow-burning and the equally barbarous custom of compulsory widowhood, and to discourage child-marriage and polygamy¹ but he never enforced his ordinances, wise and humane as they were, at the point of the sword. Jahangir sternly forbade a new and horrible form of Sati prevalent among some Muslim converts from Hinduism, who buried their widows with their husbands², but he had to content himself with mere discouragement of the time-honoured Hindu Sati.³ The Hindu feelings, even irrational feelings of caste, were uniformly respected. No attempt was made to promote intermarriage between the Hindus and Muslims. Jahangir forbade such intermarriage already prevalent amongst some hillmen,⁴ to the satisfaction, doubtless, of both Hindus and Muslims.

Respect for village autonomy.

A third implicit condition of popular loyalty to the Mughal throne was respect for the immemorial village autonomy which formed the central feature of Indian social and economic organisation up to the eighteenth century. The village panchayat consisting of five persons, as the terms implies, or of more, as was generally the case, continued to keep a vigilant eye on breaches of time-honoured custom, to secure order and mutual co-operation, to settle petty disputes. In days when the arm of the state was not so long

¹ Badauni (Lowe) II. 367.

² Jahangir (R+B.) II. 181.

³ For later Sati see Peter Mundy II. 34-36, 179-180.

Tavernier (*ed.* Ball) I. 219; II. pp. 207-224.

Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III. p. 104.

⁴ Jahangir (R+FB.) II. 181,

as it is to-day, when the big hereditary landholders did not exist, the village organisation was a real force in the body-politic.

Scope of state activity.

The abstinence of the state from religious and social life and from village life generally implies a serious restriction of the scope of state-activity. Under the circumstances, however, that was inevitable. Man is a political animal, as Aristotle said. Society or the state is no artificial product, as Burke emphasised. The individual must be a member of the state in order to realise himself, in order to fulfil his destiny, but he is not prepared for unconditional surrender to any one. As a rule, no Government, unless it be a direct or representative democracy, dare touch the popular religion or social organisation. It must leave society itself to legislate through custom in those spheres.

Functions of the Mughal state; Constituent Ministrant

Nevertheless, the Mughal Government had an ample field for its operation. It had to safeguard the country from external danger and to regulate the foreign policy; it had to maintain order and provide for protection of life and property; it had to define and punish crime; it had to determine and enforce contract rights between individuals. Besides these constituent functions, it undertook some ministrant duties; it fixed the coinage, it regulated trade and industry; it maintained thoroughfares; it established some hospitals; it extended profuse encouragement to art and learning. On his accession Jahangir forbade the levy of cesses and tolls which the Jagirdars had imposed for their private gain.¹ He ordained that the

¹ Jahangir (R+B) I. 7. This forms Regulation No. 1 of the Dastur-ul-amal, or the twelve "rules of conduct" which the emperor promulgated on his accession.

bales of merchants were not to be opened on the roads, as was sometimes done, probably for purposes of octroi, without their permission.¹ He commanded the erection of rest-houses and mosques, schools and hospitals, add the appointment of physicians in all the great cities at the expense of the state.² If no heirs could be discovered to the property of deceased private persons, the effects were to be applied to the erection of schools and inns, the construction of tanks and wells, and the repair of bridges.³ Later he erected small walls on the wayside for the convenience of porters after the fashion in Gujarat.⁴ He interdicted alcohol and tobacco, and promulgated an edict for the abolition of the horrible practice of making eunuchs in East Bengal.⁵ The ordinances, it is true, were not always strictly carried out, the reason however, lying not in the motives of the government but in the inherent difficulties of intercourse. All the same, they bear eloquent testimony to the character of the Government. It is, however, in its relation to art and literature, that the beneficent character of the Government comes out to the best advantage. The Persian chroniclers have preserved long lists of the literati whom the generosity of the Mughal court raised above want, even to affluence.⁶ As one runs over the biographies of contemporary Persian and Hindi poets, one is struck by the large number of those who sought and obtained the patronage of the

¹ Jahangir (R+B) I. 8. Regulation No. 3.

² Mirate Ahmadi by Ali Muhammad Khan I. 209 K. K. I. 249.

Jahangir (R+B) I. 8, 9. Regulation No. 2 and 10.

³ Tarikh-i-Jan Jahan by Jan Jahan Khan Asiatic Society Bengal Mss. quoted by N. N. Law in his promotion of learning during Muhammadan Times p. 175

⁴ Jahangir (R+B) I. 8. Regulation No. 4.

⁵ Jahangir (R+B) I. 420. The order for these erections was issued in 1618.

⁶ Jahangir (R+B,) I. 8. Regulation No. 5. Also pp. I. 370—1, II pp. 150, 151, 168. But see Terry (p. 96) and Fyler (p. 52) on smoking. Letters Received I p. 300. Bowrey p 97. For the introduction of tobacco, Asad Beg E and D VI. 165-67.

⁷ For example, Ain-i-Akbari for the reign of Akbar and Abdul Hamid Lahori for that of Shah Jahan. Iqbalnama. 308. Muhammad Hadi p. 20. Jahangir (R+B) I. 46. II. 345. 257 for the reign of Jahangir.

court.¹ In those days no Government in the world had a department of public instruction; the Mughals sought to supply its place by wide patronage of literary merit. Jahangir's keen interest and efforts raised Indian painting to its high water-mark. Roe and Terry were struck with wonder and amazement at the skill of the court painters.² The picture galleries at Lahore representing the Imperial family and baronage, would have ranked among the finest in the world.³ Calligraphy was cultivated as a fine art.⁴ Music was enriched.

The Mughal state—a Culture-state

It is evident that the Mughal state had risen from the level of a police state or law-state, to the rank of a culture-state. Such were the ideals and activities of the Mughal Government in the seventeenth century. It was not what Sir John Seeley would have called an inorganic *quasi-state*. Its governmental organisation deserves the closest study in the light of the methods of comparative politics, and may best be viewed under the twofold aspect of central and local.

Governmental organisation. The Emperor, the Council.

The centre of the circle was, of course, the monarchy. There was no scope for a constitution in the modern sense. But not even the most gifted man, not even a Julius Caesar or a Napoleon, can handle the multitudinous problems of a large empire without the collaboration of other minds. A veteran

¹ Misra Bandhu vinoda by the Misra Brothers vol. I and II. Shiva Singh Saroja, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow. Reports on the search for Hindi Mss., Ka-hi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares.

² Sir T. Roe found it difficult to distinguish his original painting from the copies made by a court artist. Jahangir permitted him to take any of the copies "to show in England we are not so unskilful as you esteem us". Embassy, 210-11. Terry p. 135.

See also Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, J. R. A. S. 1910 pp. 874-81.

³ For their description William Finch (Punchas IV. 53-55).

⁴ Superb specimens are preserved in the Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore.

statesman, versed in business, gave it as his opinion that he had known no proposal which consultation even with inferior brains had not improved. Government, the most difficult of all practical arts, preeminently demands the mutual aid of several minds. Every despotism is bound to be a government by council. The relative influence of the monarch and the councillors will be determined, more than anything else, by the personal equation. But a council is an inseparable accident of an autocracy. The ancient Hindu king had his traditional cabinet of eight which the Maratha statesman Shivaji revived at the close of the seventeenth century. The Roman emperor had his body of advisers. The Norman Angevin despotism worked through the Curia Regis. The Tudor despotism has been called the golden period of the Privy Council. Napoleon had his Council of State which sat in constant session. The Hohenzollerns had their Staatsrath which was founded by Joachim Friedrick as early as 1604, which, as Woodrow Wilson remarks, bore a general family resemblance to the English Privy Council and which Stein sought to reorganise in the beginning of the nineteenth century. *A priori* considerations concur with positive historical testimony to show that the Mughal emperor had a nominated council which sat frequently and which deliberated on all matters of importance. It consisted of the principal officers and those specially summoned and was called the Diwan-i-khas. The room in which it met acquired the name of Ghusulkhana or bath room, because Sher Shah had summoned his ministers to him while drying his long locks of hair in his bath. The minutes of its sessions have perished, but the incidental notices in the Persian chronicles and the European itineraries enable one to form an idea of its working. The emperor presided, every

councillor expressed his opinion in turn on every proposal that was put forward. Here the foreign affairs were discussed, foreign ambassadors were interviewed, plans of expeditions were framed, commanders were nominated. Here the offences of high personages were considered and referred to committees or immediately decided on.¹

The principal officers. The Vakil. The Diwan.

The Bakhshi. Chief Qazi. Sadrus Sadur

Mir Arz. Minor Bakhshis other officers.

The highest officer was the vakil, the vicegerent, chancellor or Prime Minister of the Empire, who may be compared to the Grand vazier of Turkey or to the chancellor of the German Empire or to the Justiciar of the early Norman Kings. Next came the Diwan or chancellor of the Exchequer. The Bakhshi performed a multitude of military duties and may best be summed up as secretary for war and paymaster general rolled into one. The chief Qazi presided over the judicial machinery of the Empire. The Sadr-us-sadr was the minister for religion, charity and grants, but his powers were seriously curtailed by Akbar. The Mir Arz was in charge of the thousands of petitions that were addressed to the emperor. His office corresponds to the Serinia which were directed by masters of respectable dignity under the master of the offices in the Roman Empire.

The minor Bakhshis were concerned with the draft, seal and issue of the Imperial farmans etc. The other chief officers were the Lord Privy Seal (Mir Mal), the Lord Standard-Bearer (Qurbegi), the Lord of the Admiralty (Mir Bahri), the Superintendent of forests (Mir Baw) the Quarter Master general (Mir

¹ Sir J. Rae, Embassy. 106-8, 110, 112, M. U. (Beveridge) I.
Blochmann J. A. S. B. Vol. XLIV Pt-I. p. 297.

Manzil), the Private Secretary (Munshi), the Master of Ceremonies (Mir Tozak) the Superintendent of the Stud (Akhtah Begi).

Officers of the palace

As among the Roman Emperors, Merovingian Kings, and Norman-Angevin Kings, the Mughals had a number of high officers of the palace who wielded considerable power. The khansama or the master of the Imperial Household, or to use a medieval European term, the Mayor of the Palace, inspected the discipline of the palace, the Imperial establishments and factories.

Secretariat

Round each of the high officers, there sprang up a regular secretariat, clerical staff, the whole paraphernalia of a bureaucratic administration.¹

The "dignified" parts of the Government.

The Jharokha, and Darbar.

Besides these efficient parts of the Government, there were what Bagehot would have called the dignified parts "which excite and preserve the reverence of the population", which win loyalty and confidence, force and motive power to be employed by the efficient parts. Every morning the emperor showed himself at the jharokha window to the assembled multitude. The ceremony at first sight appears childish but it served to impart the much-needed personal touch to the Government. Jahangir fully realised its importance and observed the custom even during his illness. There every Tuesday he sat in judgment, never refusing the poorest man's complaint, always ready to hear both sides of a case. There he returned every noon to see the fights of elephants and

¹ Ain. I. pp. XI, V, VIII.

wild beasts, for mankind have always loved to see the great unbend. Every evening was held a great darbar which dazzled the imagination of all who beheld it. In a little gallery overhead sat the emperor dressed in the richest attire and with his secretaries beside him; under him was a raised platform spread with beautiful carpets, covered with silk and velvet, and with silver railings, filled by the great nobles, ambassadors and distinguished foreign visitors; the next rail being reserved for the gentry while the vast court overflowed with the common people. The Diwan-i am, as it was called, was the scene of some state business but its primary function was to impress the popular emagination.¹

Nauroz

It was, however, on festive occasions that the court presented the most splendid appearance. The vernal New year's feast called Nauroz, adopted from Persia by Akbar, was celebrated by Jahangir every year for nineteen days. In the Diwan-i-Am was erected a tent some 60 paces long and 45 paces broad, covered all round with canopies of the richest and most finely embroidered velvet, silk and cloth of gold, hung over with fringes of gold and pearls, jewels and diamonds, fruits of gold, silver pictures and paintings; and laid underneath with carpets of silk and cloth of gold. Besides the royal throne, square in form, borne up with four pillars, inlaid with mother of pearl and covered with cloth of gold, there were placed a few chairs of state with soft cushions. The emperor appeared decked in pearls and jewels. Private rooms were provided for the ladies of the Imperial seraglio. Round the emperor's tent, the nobles laid out theirs

¹ Jahangir (R + B) I. 266-7.

Roe I, 106-8, 110, 112. Terry 389.

Coryat crudities unpagcd Purchas IV. 475.

within the compass of some five acres, contending with each other for the superiority of pomp and splendour. Houses of silver might be seen among the curiosities. The emperor visited every apartment and generally condescended to accept some gift. In return he bestowed titles and dignities, jagirs and promotions. Wine flowed in rivulets; verses and odes flew in hundreds. Gaiety and merriment ruled everything during the nineteen pleasant days of the spring-festival. A fancy bazar was held when the ladies of the noble houses kept stalls. The Emperor and his ladies haggled with the fair shop-keepers with humour and pleasantry. Music and dance charmed the festive parties that were held by day and by night.¹

The weighing of the emperor

Next to Nauroz and second only to Nauroz in pomp and magnificence, came the weighing of the emperor on his lunar and solar birthdays. On the former he was weighed eight times, and on the latter, twelve times, against various articles which were distributed among the courtiers and the indigent. Pomp and ceremony hardly knew any bounds.²

¹ Sir T. Roe (Embassy I, 42) Mandelslo (p. 41) and even Terry erroneously supposed Nauroz to mean nine days. Thevenot (part III ch. XXVII pp. 49-50). however, correctly understood its meaning.

The celebration began on the first of the Forwardin of the Persian solar era when the sun moved to Aries. For celebrations during the reign of Akbar, see Ain I. 276-77. A. N. III, 82, 200-1, 236-7, 265, 295, 347, 585-6 etc. (Beveridge) 45-6, 283-4 337, 385, 6, 436, 510, 889-890 etc.

Monserrate, Commentarius p. 629.

For celebrations during the reign of Jahangir, see Jahngir (R + B) I. 47-9 and the beginning of every subsequent year of the diary. The Iqbalnama and the Maasir-i-Jahangiri borrow the descriptions from the emperor.

See also the Hawkin's Voyages p. 439. Purchas III. 48. Coryat, crudities

Roe, Embassy 143-44. unpagcd, Purchas IX. p. 491.

For later celebrations see the Persian histories of the reign of Shahjahan and particularly the Badshahnama of Abdul Hamid Lahori.

Peter Mundy II. 237-38, Thevenot III. ch. XXVII, pp. 49-50. Bernier (ed. Constable) 272-3. Manucci (ed. Irvine) I. 195.

The puritanical Aurangzeb abolished the festival a few years after his accession to the throne.

² The custom was introduced by Akbar.

The royal princes were first weighed when two years of age, and then only against a single article an additional one being added each year till the number reached generally seven or eight but never beyond twelve.

The Hindu and Muslim festivals.

The various Hindu and Muslim festivals were celebrated with impartial splendour. On the Dashera,

All the articles were distributed among faqirs and poor people, often among Brahmans during Akbar's reign. A separate treasurer and accountant were appointed to look after the financial arrangements for the occasions.³

The articles were "gold quicksilver, silk, perfumes, copper, ruh-i-tutiya, ghi, rice, milk, seven kinds of grain, salt; the order of these articles being determined by their costliness. According to the number of years His Majesty has lived, there is given away an equal number of sheep, goats, fowls, to people that breed these animals. A great number of small animals are also set at liberty." Ain. I 266.

The solar weighing ceremony of the year 1617 is thus graphically described by Sir Thomas Roe:—

"September 1.—Was the King's birth-day and the solemnity of his weighing to which I went, and was carried into a very large and beautiful garden, the square within all water; on the sides of flowers and trees; in the midst a pinnacle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large tressels, and a cross beam plated on with gold thin, the scales of massy gold, the horders set with small stones, rubies and turquoises, the chains of gold large and massy but strengthened with silk cords. Here attended the nobility, all sitting about on carpets, until the king came; who at last appeared clothed, or rather laden with diamonds, rubies, pearls and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious! his sword, torget, throne to rest on correspondent; his head, neck, breast, arms above the elbows, at the wrists, his fingers every one with at least two or three rings, fettered with chains or drilled diamonds, rubies as great as walnuts (some greater) and pearls such as mine eyes were amazed at. Suddenly he enered into the scales, sat like a woman on his legs, and there was put in against him many bags to fit his weight, which were changed six times, and they say was silver, and that I understood his weight to be nine thousand *rupia* (rupees) which are almost one thousand pound sterling. After with gold and jewels, and precious stones, but I saw none; it being in bags, might be pebbles. Then against cloth of gold, silk, stuffs, linen, spices and all sorts of goods; but I must believe, for they were in fardles (bundles). Lastly, against meal, butter, corn which is said to be given to the Bania and all the rest of the stuff; but I saw it carefully carried in and none distributed. Only the silver is reserved for the poor, and serves the ensuing year, the king using in the night to call for some before him, and with his own hands in great familiarity and humility to distribute that money. The scale he sat in by one side, he gazed on me, and turned me his stones and wealth, and smiled, but spoke nothing for my interpreter could not be admitted in. After he was weighed he ascended his throne, and had basons of nuts, almonds, fruits, spices of all sort, made in thin silver, which he cast about, and his great men scrambled prostrate upon their bellies; which seeing I did not, he reached one bason almost full, and poured into my cloak. His noblemen were so bold as to put in their hands, so thick that they had left me none if I had not put a remayner up. I heard he threw gold till I came in, but found it silver so thin, that all I had at first, being thousands of several pieces, had not weighed sixty rupees, I saved about twenty rupees weight yet a good dishful, which I keep to show the ostentation; for by my proportion, he could not that day cast away above one hundred pound sterling. At night he drinketh with all his nobility in rich plate."

A. N. (Beveridge) III. 580.

The eight articles were "silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard oil and vegetables" Ain. I. 266.

See also Ain. I. 266-7, n. 1. A. N. III, (Beveridge) 581, Badauni, II. 84, (Lowe p. 85.) (R. and B.) 77-8, 332-3, Padshahnama, I. p. 243.

Roe, 411-3. See also Terry pp. 376-8 Coryat's Crudities unpagd. Purchas IV. p. 473.

The Hawkin's Voyages p. 440. Accounts of any year in the Memoir of Jahangir Iqbalnama, Massir-i-Jahangiri and Muntakhahul lubab.

For the ceremony after Jahangir's reign Padshahnama I p. 243. etc. Mandeslo p. 42. Bernier (*ed*-constable) p. 260.

Tavernier I. 379. Sometime after his accession, both the Nauroz and the weighing ceremony were abolished by Aurangzeb. Sarkar History of Aurangzeb III 92-3, 97-9.

the Imperial horses and elephants were arrayed in decorated panoply and paraded for inspection. On the Rakshabandhan, the Hindu nobles and Brahmans fastened strings on the emperor's arms. The Diwali saw gambling in the palace. The Shivaratri was duly observed. Nor were the Muslim Id and Shab-i-barat neglected. ¹

Court etiquette.

Nothing could exceed the luxury and splendour in which the emperor and the court lived. ² The ostentation served to excite the imagination of the multitude but, it must be admitted, at a heavy cost. The poor man's money flowed like water to gratify the tastes and vices, the whims and fancies, of a few high personages. The Mughal administration draws its darkest stain from the pomp, insipidity and emptiness which Mommsen has well styled the due accompaniments of a court. The etiquette observed was compounded of vanity on one side and servility on the other. Here, again, one may observe how like circumstances have produced like results in all ages and countries. As one glides through the annals of the Persian, Chinese, Roman and Byzantine empires, one sometimes feels the atmosphere of the Mughal court. "When a subject was at length admitted to the Imperial presence" says Gibbon about Diocletian and his successors, and the words are perfectly applicable to the Mughals, "he was obliged, whatever might be his rank, to fall prostrate on the ground and to adore, according to the Eastern fashion, the divinity of his lord and master." Akbar who, like Diocletian, introduced the Persian etiquette in the teeth of opposition, may have believed with the great Roman em-

¹ Jahangir (R and B) I. 246, 286, 361 II. 94-5, 100, 176.

The Embassy of Sir T. Roe p. 314.

² See Ain. I. for the various Imperial establishments and their costs.

peror that habits of submission would insensibly be productive of sentiments of veneration, but the price paid in human dignity was terrible. Jahangir fully maintained the debasing theatrical representation, though, probably as a concession to the strong prejudices of democratic Islam, he exempted the judicial officers, Mir. Adils and Qazis from the humiliation.¹ The foreign ambassadors, even the representative of Persia, the glory and mistress of the Muslim world, had, generally, no objection to the ceremony. Only Sir Thomas Roe, be it said to his credit, resolutely maintained the dignity of his country by paying his respects in a manly fashion.² It is hardly necessary to state that the courtiers generally stood on their legs in the darbar in the Imperial presence; it was deemed a rare honour when Jahangir allowed Shah Jahan to sit. The emperor was addressed in public with a profusion of epithets in whispering tones and bated breath. The nobles mounted guard on his palace by turns and duly obeyed whatever commands they received.

Provincial Administration.

In spite, however, of all the show and pageantry at the headquarters, the Mughal Government found it a serious problem to make its authority effectively felt in the provinces. It is difficult for us who live in the days of the steam ship, the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, the penny post, the half-penny press to realise the magnitude of the problems which sheer distance presented to medieval statesmen. Society always tended to organise itself on a local basis; even the loyal satrap unconsciously enlarged the necessarily large authority delegated to him; the recalcitrant Governor was tempted to assume virtual or open independence.

¹ Jahangir (R. and B.) I. 203. For descriptions of the ceremony Ain I. 158-9. Jourdain, Journal pp. 165 and 86.

² Roe I. 135, 295-96. The ceremony was abolished by Shah Jahan. See Abdul Hamid Lahori, Padshahnama I. p. 110.

The centrifugal forces required stern regulation, vigilance and control.

The Mughal statesmen, like the Romans, solved the problem by dividing the substance and reducing the duration of authority. Akbar, parcelled out the Empire into fifteen provinces. During the reign of Jahangir, Kashmir, Qandahar, Orissa and Thatta, though nominally sarkars, were, for all practical purposes, distinct provinces, while the three Deccan divisions of Khandesh, Berar and Ahmadnagar really constituted a single satrapy, so that, in fact, the empire was parcelled into seventeen viceroyalties.¹ If we leave out of account Kabul which is now independent and Kashmir which is a protectorate, we may say that, roughly, a Mughal province represented one-half of a modern province in North India.

The provincial governor's civil and military authority.

The provincial governor was styled sipah salar, Commander-in-Chief, Sahib-i-Subah or Lord of a province or simply subahdar, and latterly, only subah. He combined the supreme civil and military authority.

1. The recognised fifteen provinces were (1) Kabul (2) Lahore (3) Multan (4) Delhi (5) Agra (6) Oudh (7) Allahabad (8) Bihar (9) Bengal (10) Malwa (11) Gujarat (12) Ajmeer (13) Khandesh (14) Berar (15) Ahmadnagar.

Qandahar was lost, finally in 1652, but Orisa, Kashmir and Thatta were recognised as separate provinces in the reign of Shahjahan see Muhammad Sharif Hanafi and Bakhtawar Khan E. and D. VII. 137-8, 164-4. The lists of provinces given by the European travellers are curiously wide of the mark. Thus, Sir T. Roe enumerates 37 "Kingdoms and provinces subject to the great Moghul, Shah Salim Jahangir." the names of which he professes to have taken out of the King's register. He mentions Mewat, Sambhal, Jaunpur etc., as separate provinces. He mentions Gaur and Bengal separately, (Embassy 430-41). Terry (Voyage to East India 74-84) gives the same "true" names which he says, "we there had out of the King's own register."

De Laet (tr. Lethbridge Calcutta Review LI. 1870 pp. 340-47) copies out the same 37 provinces.

John Jourdain (Journal p. 189) enumerates fourteen provinces, omitting a few real divisions and imagining several new ones. Thus :—(1) Kabul (2) Kashmir (3) Qandahar (4) Balkh (5) Delhi (6) Cambay (7) Sindh (8) Bengal (9) Patan (10) Mandu (11) Gwalior, (12) Hissar (13) Part of Deccan (14) Porub. Hawkins (the Hawkins Voyages p. 420) contents himself with saying that "the Empire is divided into five great kingdoms"—The Porub, (east), Bengal, Malwa, the Deccan and Gujarat.

Here the Mughal statesmen differed, on the whole, for the better, from Constantine and his successors. ' "The emulation and sometimes discord" says Gibbon, "which reigned between two professions of opposite interests and incompatible manners, was productive of beneficial and of pernicious consequences. It was seldom to be expected that the general and the civil governor of a province should either conspire for the disturbance, or should unite for the service, of their country. While the one delayed to offer the assistance which the other disdained to solicit, the troops very frequently remained without orders or without supplies; the public safety was betrayed, and the defenceless subjects were left exposed to the fury of the Barbarians. The divided administration which had been formed by Constantine, relaxed the vigour of the state, while it secured the tranquillity of the monarch."

Short tenure of office.

The Mughals secured the tranquillity and security of the monarch and the state, without relaxing the vigour of either, by devising a series of checks on the governor's power. In the first place, he generally held office for two or three years only. The services of capable administrators were retained by transfer from province to province but, as a rule, they were never allowed to strike deep root in any region.

The following tables compiled mainly from Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Motmad Khan's Iqbalnama, Khafi Khan's Muntakhabul lubab and Shah nawaz Khan's Maasir-ul-umra will illustrate the point:—

BENGAL

No.	YEAR OF APPOINTMENT.		NAMES OF THE GOVERNORS.	REMARKS.
	Hijri year.	Christian year.		
1	1015	1605	Raja Man Singh	
2	1015	1606	Qutbuddin Khan Koka ...	Killed in an encounter with Sher Afkun, the first husband of Nurjahan.
3	1016	1607	Jahangir Qulik Khan ...	
4	1017	1608	Islam Khan ...	
5	1022	1613	Qasim Khan ...	
6	1026	1617	Qulij Khan ...	Gladwin (p. 115) omits this name from his list of the Governors of Bengal but see Jahangir (R + B) I. 352 and 373.
7	1026	1617	Ibrahim Khan Fathjang ...	Brother of Nurjahan Begam.
8	1032	1623	Asaf Khan ...	He did not actually take over charge of the province. For some time after the death of Ibrahim K. Fathehjang in 1624 in a battle with the rebel prince Shah Jahan, the province was practically in the latter's possession, and was administered in his behalf by Darab Khan.
9	1034	1625	Mahabat Khan...	Recalled.
10	1034	1625	Khanzad Khan	Recalled.
11	1035	1626	Mugarrab Khan	
12	1036	1627	Fidai Khan ...	

BIHAR

No.	YEAR OF APPOINTMENT.		NAMES OF THE GOVERNORS.	REMARKS.
	Hijri year.	Christian year.		
1	1013	1604	Asaf Khan ...	...
2	1014	1605	Baz Bahadur ...	...
3	1016	1606	Jahangir Quli Khan ...	...
4	1016	1607	Islam Khan ...	...
5	1017	1608	Afzal Khan ...	...
6	1021	1612	Zafar Khan ...	...
7	1024	1615	Ibrahim Khan ...	...
8	1026	1617	Jahangir Quli Khan ...	...
9	1027	1618	Muqarrab Khan	...
10	1036	1626	Mirza Rustam Safavi ...	...

GUJRAT

No.	YEAR OF APPOINTMENT.		NAMES OF THE GOVERNORS.	REMARKS.
	Hijri year	Christian year.		
1	1014	1605	M. Quly Khan	Raja Bikramajit, whose appointment is mentioned, does not seem actually to have assumed charge.
2	1015	1608	Murtaza Khan	...
3	1017	1608	Mirza Aziz Koka Khan Azam ...	He sent his eldest son Jahangir Quli Khan as his deputy
4	1020	1611	Abdullah Khan	...
5	1025	1616	Muqarrab Khan	...
6	1027	1618	Prince Shah-jahan ...	He governed through his agents principally, the Brahman Sundar, styled Raja Bikramajit.
7	1032	1623	Prince Dawar Bakhsh ...	The Khan Azam was his guardian.
8	1033	1624	Mirza Safi (Nawab Safi Khan Jahangir-shahi.)	...

The conclusion is fully sustained by the lists of Governors of the other provinces which I have prepared but which space does not allow me to reproduce. See also Terry pp. 364-5 It may be noted that 17th Century Viceroys of Portuguese India also held office on an average for three years. Fryer I, 189, II, 114.

The Diwan.

In the second place, the provincial governor's Diwan derived his appointment, promotion or dismissal direct from, and owed responsibility to, the headquarters. In matters financial, he stood on a par with the governor. He may be compared, roughly, to the quaestor in a Roman province.

Waqiah Nawis or Recorder.

A similar co-ordinate position was assigned to the Recorder, whom the Franks called a Secretary of State, and whom Thevenot compared, rather loosely, to the Intendant of a province in France.¹ It was his duty to keep the headquarters regularly informed of all the doings of the provincial authorities, of everything that created a sensation or excited any interest or curiosity—whether military, social or commercial, agricultural or biological, chemical or physiological.² There were, indeed, as Bernier points out, cases of disgraceful collusion between the governor and the recorder³, but the very existence of the office served as a check.

The Sarkar. The Faujdar

Every province was divided into a number of sarkars, which correspond to the modern district. The officer who exercised civil and military jurisdiction over the sarkar went by the name of faujdar, and answered to the modern collector and magistrate and military commandant rolled into one. He constituted the unit of everyday administration.⁴ He was, of course, subordinate to the governor, but he was

¹ Thevenot III Ch. X. p. 19.

² Jahangir, (R and B) I, 247, fully realised the value of the institution.

³ Bernier (*ed.* Constable), I, 231.

⁴ Ain (Jarrett) II 40-41.

appointed, transferred or dismissed only by the head quarters, which meant another check on the viceroy.¹

Paraganas

The sarkar was subdivided into paraganas or mahalls, which correspond to modern tahsils and paraganas, and which served as fiscal and police units. The Ain is silent on the designation of the officer in charge, but from Jahangir, Motmad Khan and from family-records it is not difficult to discover that he was called the Chaudhari.²

The Kotwal

The towns were placed under the administration of kotwals, whose prerogatives far exceeded those of his modern namesake. He was expected to perform all the functions of a modern municipality, and was superintendent of the police, honorary magistrate, and much else besides. He regulated prices and sales, weights and measures, kept registers of roads and houses, watched the movements of strangers, divided certain cases and inflicted punishments. The head quarters expected him to see to the execution of their decrees and ordinances, and held him responsible for thefts and robberies committed within his jurisdiction. He therefore prohibited people from entering or leaving the town after night fall. He kept an eye on the guilds of artisans and divided the town into wards for the sake of efficiency. He demanded regular reports from the ward officers and had, besides, a large staff corresponding to the Criminal Intelligence Department.³ The Kotwal Khan, as he was generally called⁴, is compared by the Portuguese Mouserrate to a chief bailiff⁵, and by Terry to an English bailiff⁶.

¹ Jahangir frequently mentions his appointments to faujdarships. For example, *Memoirs* (R and B) I, 166, II. 102.

² For example, Jahangir (R and B) I. 66-7. Many families still preserve the sanads of their ancestors who held the office of Chaudhary.

³ Ain (Jarrett) II, 42-43. The translation of the passage by Jarrett contains a few errors.

⁴ Peter Mundy II, 232, 282. Thevenot III, ch. IX, J. 20.

⁵ Monserrate (Hosten J. A. S. B. VIII, 1912 p. 200).

⁶ Terry, *voyage to East India*, p. 365.

The judicial organisation. The Qazi and the Mir Adl.

The provincial courts. The Imperial courts.

A review of the kotwal's duties alone would suffice to show that the Mughals did not believe in Montesquieu's doctrine of the separation of functions, but a certain degree of specialization is inevitable in all civilised administration. The Judiciary had a distinct organisation and officers of its own. Except in grave matters, the village was generally left undisturbed, and the caste panchayats were everywhere suffered to exercise a sort of social jurisdiction. But every town had a Qazi and a Mir Adl who formed a judicial bench. The former investigated the case, while the latter pronounced the sentence. Sometimes the two offices were combined in the same person. In many places there was a superior judge for appeals and revision of cases. In all important cases, an appeal lay to the court of the provincial diwan, or Qazi or Governor, who likewise exercised original jurisdiction in all cases that occurred round their seats. From the provincial courts, appeals could be preferred, doubtless only in important cases, to the Imperial diwan or qazi or the Emperor himself, who likewise sat to decide original cases arising round the headquarters. When the emperor sat at the Jharokha, one had only to hold up a petition to be heard and answered.¹

Jahangir's Chain of justice.

In order to defeat the obstruction to the common people from the royal servants, Jahangir fastened a chain between his apartments and the bank of the

¹ Ain (Jarrett) II. 41. Also I. 258.

Monserate (tr. Hosten J. A. S. B. VIII. 1912 p. 200).

Rai Bihari Mal, Lubbut Tawarikh-i-Hind E & D VI, 172-3.

Roe I. 107.320-1. Terry, 370-71, 353.

Coryat, Crudities unpagged Purchas IV. 475.

Jourdain, Journal p. 159.

Jamna, which every one could touch and to which bells were attached.¹

No written codes. Civil cases.

There were no written codes of substantive law or of procedure. As Sir T. Roe said, "Laws they have none written."² Civil cases were decided according to custom, though difficulties must have arisen when the parties appealed to different sets of customs. Like the *Praetor Peregrinus* of ancient Rome, the judges must have exercised their discretion on such occasions. On the whole, the absence of a written code of civil law is a disadvantage but, as every cloud has a silver lining, it permits the free development and modification of customary law. More than one eminent jurist has complained that the action of the present High Courts of Judicature is imparting an unnatural rigidity to Hindu custom.

Criminal cases. Punishments.

The criminal cases were decided according to an unwritten, severe code, compounded of Quranic law, Muslim tradition, Indian custom and Imperial ordinances. Murder, robbery, theft, adultery and treason

¹ Jahangir, (R & B) I. 7. He thus describes its fashion. "I ordered them to make a chain of pure gold, 30 gaz in length and containing 60 bells. Its weight was 6 Indian maunds, equal to 42 Iraq maunds. One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the Shah Burj of the fort at Agra, and the other to a stone post fixed on the bank of the river." It is doubtful if Jahangir was foolish enough to order the whole chain, even the part hanging outside the fort to be made of gold. It has been doubted if the chain was ever used at all. Whether it was or not, its institution made an impression on the people. Khafi Khan (I, 248) writing a century later, mentions it with approval and adds that Jahangir ordered a proclamation to be made that any one who was oppressed might through the bells bring his complaint to his ears. A Persian Ms. the Razul maluk (p. 20. a.), contains the fictitious story of an ass who wandering on the rivers bank, happened to shake the chain. An inquiry was at once instituted into his "grievance" when it was found that his owner, a miser, did not look after him well. The man was warned.

A similar chain of Justice had been set up by a Persian monarch some years before. According to Du Jarric, III. ch. XVII. the chain was of silver, not of gold. William Finch (Purchas IV, 74) however, expressly states that golden bells were attached to the chain of Justice.

As Beveridge points out, "Muhammad Shah in 1721 revised this and hung a long chain with bells attached to it from the octagon tower which looked towards the river" (Sair-ul-Mulakharin, I, 230.)

² The Embassy of Sir T. Roe, 120.

were punished with death or mutilation. Debtors could be sold into slavery, ¹

Jahangir interdicted the cutting off noses and ears, but he left other forms of amputation untouched. ² During his reign, he never disgraced himself by inflicting the penalty of fleecing, but he occasionally punished the darker social and political crimes with dreadful deaths by impaling, tearing by wild beasts, or trampling by elephants. ³ Imprisonment was rare and generally reserved for those whose activities were deemed dangerous to the stability of the social and political order. The fortress of Gwalior commanded by the valiant Anil Rai Singhdalan was the great state prison during the reign of Jahangir. The absence of common jails need hardly cause much regret, because until the 18th century, they were veritable hells on earth.

It is not perfectly clear what punishments each particular officer was authorised to give. The *Ain* clearly invests the provincial Governor with powers of imprisonment and corporeal chastisement, but cautions him to "the utmost deliberation before severing the principle of life", ⁴ Monserrate says that whenever the emperor was present, the death penalty could not be inflicted without his sanction. ⁵ Writing in 1667, Thevenot remarks that all sentences of death passed whether by civil or criminal, Judges had to wait for execution until the emperor's confirmation was obtained. ⁶ From Terry and Roe, however, it is clear that during

¹ Terry p. 365.

Thevenot III. ch. X, 19,

² Jahangir (R and B) I, 9,

³ Terry 054-5, Jahangir (R and B) I, 353.

As commanded by the driver, the elephant would either crush the culprit at once or break his joints one by one.

The modes of punishment were the same in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir.

See Monserrate, *Commentarius* also tr. Hosten J. A. S. B. VIII, 1912 p. 194.

⁴ *Ain* (Jarrett) II. 37.

⁵ Monserrate tr. Hosten J. A. S. B. VIII, 1912, p. 194.

⁶ Thevenot III, Ch. X, p. 19.

Jahangir's reign, the provincial Viceroys passed and executed sentences of death.¹ It is not too much to infer that no court below that of the provincial Governor had powers of life and death.

Procedure.

The procedure of the courts was simple and summary. No sooner were the accused apprehended than they were produced before the court. It was seldom that a man had to wait for more than twenty-four hours for his trial. The parties to every civil suit or criminal case were examined by the Judges. Witnesses were summoned and severely cross-examined. The Hindus had to swear on a cow; the Muslims on the Quran, and Christians on the Bible. The Judges went over difficult cases several times. No sooner was the sentence pronounced than it was executed, unless, of course, on appeal was to be preferred or confirmation was to be obtained.² The "round and quick" Justice, says Terry, "keeps the people in such order and awe that there are not many executions."³

¹ The Embassy of Sir T. Roe, p. 120. Terry p. 364,
For punishments also see Peter Mundy II, 72-3, 232-3, Purchas IX, 47,
Jahangir (R and B.) II, 28.

² Terry pp. 353-4.

A Hindu's oath, says Thevenot, (III. ch. and p. 19). "consists only in laying his hand upon the cow and saying that he wishes he may eat of the flesh of that beast, if what he says be not true, but most of them choose rather to lose their cause than smear, because they who smear are reckoned infamous among the idolaters"

³ Terry p. 354.

BENI PRASAD, M. A.

(to be continued)

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SHER SHAH

Farid, son of Hasan, was one of the most remarkable personalities in Indian history. From the ordinary status of a small jagirdar he became the greatest King of Northern India of his time, and made a name which has yet got some charm for the students of the history of India. In the dawn of his youth, he had not only made up his mind, but had even spoken it out to others, to revive the Afghan Empire which had been shattered by the sword of Baber at the battle of Panipat (1526). The defeat of Ibrahim Lodi had produced consternation in every Afghan heart, so that for years afterwards they recited frightful tales of the calamity which the great Mughal adventurer had inflicted on them.¹ Thoughtful and respectable Afghan leaders spoke of the sheer impossibility of ever driving out the Mughals from India, and scoffed at the robust optimism of Farid the future Sher Shah.² It was not long when the young Afghan proved as good as his word, and succeeded literally in hounding Humayun out of India.

After realizing the chief object of his ambition he set himself whole heartedly to the difficult task of evolving order out of chaos which prevailed in India³ after the collapse of the Lodi Empire. He was not simply a great military leader, but cherished definite administrative ideas which he had tried to work out as far back as the time when he administered the Jagir of his

¹ Badaoni (Ranking) p.

² Sher Shahi in E.D. IV. 330. Daoodi (Ms. in the Hist. Dept.) f. 152.

³ Easkine, Humayun p. 433.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BY

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN, LITT. D.

English Factories in India.—1655-1660. By William Foster, C. I. E., Oxford University Press."

The growth of British trade in the XVIIth century has been strangely neglected by students of economic history. Dr. Cunningham's references in his monumental "Growth of English Industry and Trade" were necessarily meagre, as the scope of that work prevented detailed treatment; Professor W. R. Scott has supplied this deficiency in his "History of the Constitution and Finances of the Charter Companies" It embodies an immense amount of research into the financial history of the East India Company. But the work was based on a principle that is not likely to be acceptable to the student either of Economics or of History. The historical scholar is repelled by his neglect to emphasise the significance of political changes; and the strings of dates and figures, backed by the multiplicity of references in the footnotes, makes one wish for a treatise that will combine the two important factors—political and financial—in harmonious proportions. The indefatigable industry, and thorough research, displayed in the construction of that treatise, deserve nothing but unstinted praise; and if due consideration had been paid to the political development, and social progress of the times, the work would have been a masterpiece of its kind. Again, Dr. Scott's interpretation of some of the momentous changes through which both the Old and the New East India Companies passed during the years 1692-1700, is not in accordance with the material at our disposal. It is clear that the Old Company

was accused of many malpractices, and that the majority of the charges brought by its unscrupulous opponents had no foundation in fact; but it is no less clear that some of the crimes of which it was accused, were actually committed by it. We refer, of course, to the charge of falsifying its accounts. Upon this, Mr. Scott's explanation is no less unsatisfactory, than the laboured apologies of its hirelings. These are but minor faults in a work of extraordinary industry, and painstaking research.

Mr. William Foster, C. I. E., has adopted another method in dealing with the history of the East India Company. This consists not so much in the construction of a comprehensive history of the Trade, as in the selection of significant data, relevant documents, and interesting facts. The most important documents on the subject are printed *in extenso*, while summaries are given of less important material. This is an admirable method, and in the hands of an expert archivist, lends itself to ideal treatment. Mr. William Foster's interests in the undertaking dates back to 1893. In 1886, the first volume of the Minutes of the East India Company was published at the cost of Mr. Henry Stevens, with an introduction by Sir George Birdwood; and this was followed, seven years later, by the issue of the "*First Letter Book of the East India Company*," edited by Sir George Birdwood and Mr. William Foster. In 1896, appeared the first volume of *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*. The series was continued by Mr. Foster down to volume VI, which appeared in 1912. A fresh series was then launched, under a different title, *viz.*, *English Factories in India*. This was planned on a less ambitious scale, and he contented himself with giving abstracts of documents relating to India itself, not only from the Record Dept. of the India Office, but also from the Public Record Office, and the British Museum. It became clear, however, that the *English Factories in India* would be comparatively useless without a thorough knowledge of the mechanism of the East India Company. For the Factors, after all, received instructions only from the Directors, and it was upon the utility, foresight, and expedition of these instructions that the prosperity, no less than the preservation, of the Company's trade depended. A companion series of the Calendars of the Court Minutes and other Home papers

(including documents in the Public Record Office) was commenced, the text being accurately reproduced by Miss Ethel B. Sainsbury, the accomplished daughter of the well-known archivist, William Noel Sainsbury. Mr. William Foster contributed learned Introductions to volumes in both the series, and threw fresh light on many aspects of that interesting period.

Such is the history of this famous series. Mr. Foster has toiled on, and worked with a persistency and industry that are hardly surpassed by the historical scholars of the present day. His chief quality is accuracy, and it is as difficult to find a wrong figure in this careful collection, as it is impossible to come across a discussion of the political theories or the economic background of the period. The canvas is not widely spread; and the contours of historical narrative that have proved such a fertile source of errors are rightly eschewed. The minuteness of investigation is conjoined with unflagging energy, and luminous grasp of principles. The novice may be repelled by the dry style, meticulous accuracy, and exhaustive discussion of seemingly trivial incidents; but the scholar can have nothing but praise for the painstaking record of the heroic struggles of the early founders of the company. The early volumes of this series traced the progress of the company's factories in India up to 1654. The present volume carries the account down to 1660. The original plan of the series has undergone radical modification. In the earlier volumes the method followed was that of the Calendars prepared by the Public Record Office, that is to say, a detailed analysis was given of every document available, and the summaries were arranged in chronological order. The multiplicity of material rendered adherence to the original plan impossible, and the admirable device of extracting only important passages, and connecting them by a narrative, has been resorted to. We have consequently an accurate record of the activities of the Company's traders, based on documents of primary importance, and Mr. Foster's narrative loses none of its effects by the restrained manner in which the diversified activities of many of its eccentric specimens is chronicled; and underlying his dry statement of facts, there is a vein of subdued humour, dealing playfully with the petty intrigues, and professional jealousy of the traders. The worthy factors record in mournful tones

the indignities to which they were subjected by the masterful hand of Mir Jumla. The account of that dominating personality by the harassed factors must be accepted *cum grano salis*, as they were interested persons, writing at a time when party passions, dynastic quarrels, and backstairs intrigues undermined the authority of the Government. But his preliminary survey is tantalisingly brief. We wish he had given a longer account, and utilised some of the fascinating histories of that stormy period. He makes some amends for this by his masterly sketch of the Surat Presidency; his grave narrative of the extension of British trade in Bengal; his vivid sketch, a-glow with the luxuriant verdure of the beautiful Ind; and his illuminating analyses of the character of the curious folk, who held the reins tightly in many a lovely settlement, and viewed the natives of their locality with the contemptuous indifference born of the consciousness of superiority in religion, morals, and intelligence. There is Winter, "a headstrong, passionate man, full of energy, but intensely combative, and impatient of opposition." This versatile man played a notable part at the Restoration, and the Public Record Office contains an interesting collection of papers on the memorable events connected with his varied career in India. It is, however, for the commerce of the Company, that the book is most valuable. The despatches of the factors describe the necessity of a change in the policy of the Company, and we catch glimpses of the stubborn merchant wrestling with numerous difficulties, and guarding his precious trade against the Portugese, the Dutch, and, later on, the French, with the courage of despair. We venture to think that a short chapter on the domestic politics of the Company would have been useful, as the constant complaints of the high-handed dealings of the Mughals were due partly to the pre-occupation of the Oliver Cromwell with the "weighty" business of the Protestant Alliance. In this connection, attention may be directed to a rare MSS. in the British Museum Library. We have given extracts from this pamphlet in an article in the present issue of the Journal. Perhaps the plan of this work did not permit reproduction of material dealing mainly with the domestic policy of Great Britain. We hope the next volume of Mr. Foster's *Court Minutes of the East India Company* will contain ample data from *Volumes 8-16 of the Public Record Office, C.O. 77.*

They are of priceless value to the student of Indian History, and the Secretary of State will confer a boon historical on scholars by arranging for the publication *in extenso* of the invaluable material contained in that marvellous collection. The later volumes of the series do not possess the same importance, and may be summarised in the admirable way adopted by the Public Record Office in the publication of its Calendars.

The book is well printed, and contains a copious Index, and exhaustive references to the documents utilised.

We hope the School of Historical Research, established recently in London, will take advantage of the facilities which Mr. William Foster offers to every scholar in his Department; and we are sure the study of the History of India, begun under such happy auspices, will be attended with beneficial effects. The forty eight thousand volumes of documents contained in the Record Department of the India Office may well be envied by the helpless scholar in India; and there is no reason why a comprehensive scheme of active co-operation should not be worked out by the School of Oriental Studies, the new School of Historical Research, and the India Office Library and Record Dept.

The British Empire. By J. P. Bulkley, M. A. Oxford University Press, 1921.

This brief history of the British Empire is based on a course of lessons given during a winter term at Wellington College, Berkshire. The author does not follow the beaten track, for "Modern Imperialism" is analysed with real insight; and there is no trace of the Jingo spirit with which Kipling has made us familiar. It is soundly planned, and clearly written; and we can cordially recommend it to the Principals of the Intermediate Colleges, and secondary schools.

Asoka. By Vincent A. Smith Oxford. Third Edition.

In this edition, the late Dr. Vincent Smith made important corrections in chapters I, II and III, and rewrote Chapters IV and V.

The Economic Effects of War on India. By IQBAL BAHADUR SAKSENA. ANGLO-ORIENTAL PRESS, LUCKNOW.

In this short treatise, Mr. Saksena has attempted to sketch the effects of War on India. It is a fascinating theme,

and if proper care had been taken with regard to the arrangement of the book, and its printing, it might have yielded excellent results. Mr. Saksena seems to have been in a state of considerable excitement at the time these pages were penned, for almost every page contains a glaring error, and the sketch of different industries is so meagre as to be practically worthless for the serious student.

Essays on Educational Reconstruction in India. By K. M. PANNIKAR. GANESH AND CO., MADRAS.

This is a brilliant study of educational reconstruction. Professor Pannikar's treatment of the difficult question of National Education is admirable, and we would recommend it to the serious attention of our educational reformers. He rightly points out the intimate connection of the educational revival of the present decade with the "slow inward unrest preparing for great and fundamental changes" in the Indian life of today. The Gurukula ideal of education is admirably brought out, while the noble work done by the religious societies, the Arya Samaj, the Christian Missions, and the Moslim Associations, is appraised at its real merit. Professor Pannikar does not emphasise the fundamental unity of the seemingly inconsistent aims of the various societies, nor does he bring out clearly enough the distinction between National Education, and Theological Education. The latter is really the pivot on which the whole educational machinery of India turns, and if we can reconcile the divergent aims of Sect and Nationality, we shall have gone far towards solving this riddle of the Indian Sphinx. Educators can remove some of the glaring defects, but not even the most enthusiastic of all the educators will agree with Professor John Adams that the skilful "manipulation" of environment will produce a race of ideal citizens. The educator has really no power over the environment of the "educand", and he will continue to serve the religious interests of the person by whom he is appointed. This is the fundamental difficulty of the Indian education of the present day. This aspect is not ignored by Mr. Pannikar. He refers to it in portions of his work and discusses the problem in a scientific spirit. But the treatment is not thorough.

The second essay is, on the whole, poor. Macaulay's "Minute" is accessible in the admirable work published in 1861. It contains not only the famous Minute, but also characteristic

comments on the expenditure on Oriental institutions of the day. Nor does Professor Pannikar mention the pamphlets on that famous controversy in the British Museum. The latter contains a unique collection of pamphlet literature, and some of the views advanced in this book would, we feel convinced, have undergone radical modification, had these data been consulted. Syed Mahmud's work is worthless for the purpose. It is an admirable compilation of despatches etc., but it does not pretend to be anything else. We need only mention the names of Hodgson, Wilson, Trevelyan, in this connection. The writer may refer here to his course of Research Lectures on the "Development of British Education in Modern India," delivered at the University of London, in April-May, 1920. A summary of these lectures appeared in the *Times (Educational Supplement)* for May, 1920.

The last two essays deal with "University Reform", and the "Training of Children," respectively. They are admirably written, and bring out the essential features of the "residential system" clearly enough. We are not, however, in perfect agreement with him in his interpretation of the educational ideas of Rousseau. The treatment of his educational theory is jejune, and our doubt is not lessened by the constant use of such vague phrases as "systematic and comprehensive theories of child education." Rousseau has proved a stumbling block to many a student of education, and we are constantly receiving elaborate treatises on his educational ideas. Perhaps the clearest, and frankest criticism of his doctrines is found in John Adam's *Evolution of Educational Theory*. We would recommend the chapter on "Natural Education" to him, as we think this is the only way whereby loose thinking on such a vital subject can be avoided. Another noticeable defect is his omission to estimate the worth of the Child Study movement. Something should have been said of Stanley Hall, and a short account given of the growth of this movement in England and America. Educational Psychology too is missing, and Le Bon can hardly supply the place of the capable Professors of Teachers' College, Columbia. These are but small blemishes in a notable brochure on the subject. It is excellently printed, and skilfully arranged. We recommend it to all the students of Indian Education.

The Indian Point of View in Economics. The Manockjee Limjee Gold Medal Essay of the University of Bombay. By D.B. Shah. Bombay. Vailbhar Press. 1920.

A clear and succinct account of the development of the Indian point of view in Economics. The author devotes several interesting chapters to the history of the movement that was started by Dadabhai Naorojee and culminated in the Swadeshi and Boycott agitation of the present day. The material is extensive, and if the author had handled it with success, some of his conclusions would have been worthy of attention at the present day. But his net is thrown too widely and he has not succeeded in arranging his material. His criticisms are not by any means impartial, and though a parade is made of elaborate references etc., it is clear that the abundance of his data has proved a source of confusion, rather than of strength. We would advise him to glean further information from the Reports, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices to the important Commissions and Committees instituted during the period.

Labor, Capital and Finance. By WALLER W. WALL, F. J. I. PITMAN.

A short treatise, containing essays on the "Great Problems" of the day. Written in the true journalistic vein. A rambling and incoherent account.

History of the Central Provinces and Berar. By J. N. SILL. Calcutta.

A concise account of the two provinces. Contains useful chapters on the "Hindu Period," the "Gond Period," "Muhammedan Period," "Maharatta Period," "British Period" and the "Feudatory States."

Labor in Madras. 1920. By B. P. WADIA.

This is probably the first systematic treatise on the development of Labour in the Madras Presidency. Mr. Wadia's work for the poor is known to all the students of Indian Economics, and the writer had frequent opportunities of discussing the pressing problems of Trade Unionism in India, and attending his lectures to the Economic Association, Madras Branch. It is instructive to trace the growth of Mr. Wadia's influence in that city. The War gave him

as it gave to many others, the opportunity which he had sought, and the skill, dexterity, and courage which he exhibited in the organisation of the famous Union were the wonder of the Madras public. He organised an efficient labor force out of the most unpromising material, and adopted "shock" tactics with a force that told seriously on the strength of the famous Mills of that city. The struggle was long and fierce, and at time it seemed that the victory lay with the masterful capitalists. But the interval of peace and quiet was never long, and peaceable Madrassis were constantly subjected to "lightning strikes," and other inconveniences. The dispute lingered on; Mr. Wadia received an accession of strength from various quarters, and it seemed that he had entrenched himself too strongly to be driven out of that stronghold. Suddenly the storm burst forth. Mr. Wadia was hurled from power, and made a most inglorious exit from Madras. His sudden departure was followed by the inevitable disorganisation of the seemingly invincible phalanx, and Labour underwent a most unfortunate change. In this book, he tells the story of his early struggles, and though we may not approve of his high-handed dealings, autocratic ways, and strange *volte face*, we can not help liking this tale of woe to the mournful story of the fall of Troy which Aeneas poured into the ears of Dido.

BOOKS RECEIVED

South India and Her Muhammedan Invaders. By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Oxford University Press.

Kham khana'i Jawid. Containing useful selections from Urdu writers, alphabetically arranged. Volumes II and III. By LALA SRI RAM, M.A., 17, Alipore Road, Delhi.

Studies in Parsi History. By MR. HODIWALLA.

Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society. Gower Street, London.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Fourth Series. 1920.

The Nicholas Papers. Volume IV. Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State. Edited for the Royal Historical Society, by SIR GEORGE F. Warner, D. Litt, F. B. A. London.

DEPARTMENT OF
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UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD, INDIA.

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The Department of Modern Indian History is the Historical Research Department of the University of Allahabad, and all the members of the staff are engaged upon original investigations into different periods of Indian History. It aims at applying the scientific method to the solution of many of the difficult problems of Modern Indian History, and has already produced several monographs embodying the results of researches prosecuted there. The Research Professor will shortly publish the results of his researches in a book entitled, "East India Trade in the XVIIth century." The Secretary of state for India has granted a subsidy of Rs. 1,900 in aid of its publication. Mr. Beni Prasad, M.A. Assistant Professor, will publish shortly his "History of Jehangir." It is an original investigation, and throws fresh light on many of the most interesting aspects of that period.

The Research Scholars, who work under the direct supervision of the Professor, are engaged upon researches into Modern Indian History.

The Department trains students in principals of Historical Research, provides advanced instruction in Indian and European History, prepares students for the M.A. examination of the University, and publishes original works, translations of standard writers, and editions of rare historical works.

The Department purchases MSS, and printed books dealing with Indian History, and all persons possessing valuable documents are requested to communicate with the University Professor,

